

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXXXIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

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PREFACE

Section I of this volume continues our publication of biblical texts. 5347 provides only the second Egyptian witness to the Epistle of Philemon; 5345–6 provide further early witnesses to the text of Mark and Luke. 5348 preserves an amateur copy of excerpts from Ezekiel's *Exagoge*, a Greek tragedy on Jewish history, as they are quoted by Clement of Alexandria: a remarkable personal enterprise within the Christian (or Jewish) community of Oxyrhynchus in the third–fourth century. The editors of these texts take pleasure in acknowledging their special debt to Dr Henry.

Section II offers new fragments from two popular genres: 5351–3 trials from the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, notably the trial of the former Prefect Titianus before Hadrian (an event sensational enough to reach the *Historia Augusta*); 5354–6 adventures from the Greek Novel, including the Crimean narrative of Calligone and the Amazons. To popular culture belong also the mime-troupe welcomed in 5347, and the Miracle of the Goose celebrated in 5348. 5349 allows a glimpse of the anonymous copyists to whom we owe our texts, practising the various graphic styles from which their customers could choose.

The documents in Section III contribute a mass of detail to the social and economic history of Roman and Byzantine Egypt. The official letter 5362 deals with a recurrent problem: the tax-grain destined to supply Rome (the 'Royal City') was liable to be bulked out with earth, accidentally or by fraud. The tax-receipt 5364 attests a Jewish community at Oxyrhynchus in the late fourth century. To these add an extraordinary object, 5401, part of a ceremonial shield (leather on a wooden frame) painted with a laurel wreath and a Latin inscription that celebrates the twentieth anniversary of some fourth-century emperor. With 5365–5400 we continue publishing the immense archive of the Glorious House of the Apions. These supply new evidence for the genealogy and chronology of the Apions, and for the administration of their extended estates. In particular, we see the operation of a system of 'sureties', by which individuals guarantee to shadow some delinquent and deliver him when required, or themselves pay a fine—a primitive form of bail-bond.

Section IV contains art: 5402, a fine pen-and-ink drawing of a rampant goat, and 5403, seven sketches on both sides of a single sheet, including a cockerel and a peacock, a wild boar, and a unicorn. The Artemidorus papyrus has renewed discussion of drawing as an art in the Greek world, and of drawings as preliminaries to or patterns for painting, sculpture and mosaics. Some have found its own spread of drawings so striking as to suggest forgery. The new examples from Oxyrhynchus now demonstrate comparable technique and similar subject-matter in papyri of undoubted authenticity.

Dr Colomo corrected transcripts, conserved originals, and scrutinized proofs; Dr Henry, in the process of copy-editing, indexing and typesetting, made material improvements to many items. The Arts and Humanities Research Council and the British Academy provided the generous support without which the Oxyrhynchus Papyri Project could not function.

February 2018

P. J. PARSONS / N. GONIS

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WEHC = W. E. H. Cockle

WBH = W. B. Henry

DL = D. Lincicum

DWR = D. W. Rathbone

DC = D. Colomo

MH = M. Hirt

DO = D. Obbink

MR = M. Reinfelder

HW = H. Whitehouse

NG = N. Gonis

AK = A. Koenig

PJP = P. J. Parsons

JDT = J. D. Thomas

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$a\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[$a\beta\gamma$]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol
[$a\beta\gamma$]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$'a\beta\gamma'$	The letters are added above the line
($a\beta\gamma$)	The letters are added by the editor
{ $a\beta\gamma$ }	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* at <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>. An earlier version, now largely superseded, remains available at <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>; J. F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca (BASP Suppl. 9, 2001)*, is the most recent printed edition. The titles of inscription collections are generally abbreviated as in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.

Some reference works are cited by abbreviated title, thus:

BDAG	W. Bauer & F. W. Danker, <i>A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (2000).
Byz. Not.	J. M. Diethart & K. A. Worp, <i>Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten</i> (1986).
CSBE ²	R. S. Bagnall & K. A. Worp, <i>Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt</i> (2004).
GBEP	G. Cavallo & H. Machler, <i>Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period, A. D. 300–800</i> (1987).
GLH	C. H. Roberts, <i>Greek Literary Hands, 350 B.C.–A.D. 400</i> (1956).
GMAW ²	E. G. Turner, <i>Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World</i> (21987).
LGPN	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews et al., <i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> (1987–).
NA ²⁸	E. & E. Nestle, B. & K. Aland et al., <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (282012).
RSON ²	A. Benaissa, <i>Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome</i> (2012).
Typology	E. G. Turner, <i>The Typology of the Early Codex</i> (1977).

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

5344. LXX, PSALM 11 1-8

20 3B.34/A(3-4)a
Rahlfs 2228

11.6 × 13.8 cm

Sixth century
Plates II (↓), III (→)

The second leaf of a papyrus codex. Each side has fifteen lines of text and a page number placed at or near the outer edge of the written area. The page numbers are due to the main hand, and no more space is left between each number and the first line of the text than between neighbouring pairs of lines in the body of the text. The written area is about 9.5 cm deep, and its width is 8.7 cm on the ↓ side and 7.9 cm on the → side. The margins are probably preserved to nearly their full extent. The upper margin (including the space occupied by the page numbers) is about 2 cm deep, the lower margin about 2.2 cm deep, and the inner margin about 1.5 cm wide, while the outer margin is 1.5 cm wide on the ↓ side and 2.2 cm wide on the → side. The codex may be placed in Turner's Group 9: he lists examples at *Typology* 21, to which add e.g. LXXXII 5290 (*Jannes and Jambres*, assigned to the fourth century). Cf. also *Typology* 98 (Table 15, 'Codices Having a Square Written Area (β measurement)'). A parchment copy of Psalms with similar dimensions is Rahlfs 2016 (P. Lond. Lit. 208; VI-VII cent.), Turner's OT 116, which he places in his Group XI (*Typology* 29).

The text is written continuously, except that in order to avoid causing the reader to turn a page in mid-stich, the scribe indents the last word of a stich at ↓ 15 and begins the new stich at the top of the next page. Elsewhere, he marks the end of a stich by inserting a stop in the upper half of the line accompanied, where the break falls in mid-line, by a space left between the words. In several cases, no clear trace of ink remains, but it may have been lost to surface damage; a raised 'v' in the transcription indicates a space left between words in which there are now no clear ink traces. At → 6, the scribe failed to leave a space blank in mid-line at the end of a stich, and an oblique divider was added instead above the line between the words; a similar oblique divider is used once at line-end (→ 2). For the forms of such punctuation in Greek papyri (II BC-IV AD), see in general E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (2004) 303-15. Psalm 1 copied in the same format would fill or nearly fill the first two pages of the codex.

Nomina sacra are used for κύριος and χριστός, but not for υἱός (→ 10-11) or οὐρανός (↓ 12); so too e.g. in the Codex Sinaiticus (S). Two syllables were inadvertently copied a second time at the start of → 9; the first example of the repeated sequence, at the end of the preceding line, was then cancelled by the addition of expunction dots above the letters. A rough breathing sign was used at → 14. There are no other lection signs, and no punctuation is used within the stich.

The hand is comparable to those of GBEP 38a (P. Vindob. G 19802) and b (P. Berol. 13994), both assigned to the sixth century: see e.g. P. Orsini in D. Bianconi and L. Del Corso (edd.), *Oltre la scrittura: Variazioni sul tema per Guglielmo Cavallo* (2008) 113. There is some

inconsistency in letter formation: for example, μ is normally curved but may have upright sides (e.g. \downarrow 14, \rightarrow 3). The ends of strokes are frequently decorated with heavy finials, notably the left-hand end of the cross-bar of τ . τ and α are often joined to the following letter.

5344 overlaps several other papyri, referred to below by their Rahlfs numbers: descriptions are available in Rahlfs–Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* i.1 (2004). 2051 (P. Lond. Lit. 204; III cent.) includes verses 3–8, 2130 (P. Palau Rib. Lit. I; v/vi) verses 6–8, 2150 (P. Chester Beatty XIV; iv), edited by A. Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter* (1978) 36–9, verses 1–8, and 2151 (P. Chester Beatty XV; iv), edited by Pietersma, *The Acts of Phileas Bishop of Thmuis (Including Fragments of the Greek Psalter)* (1984) 80–83 (psalter text), verses 1–3 and 5–8, while 2085 (MPER NS IV 23; vi), an amulet, includes the second stich of verse 7. The parchment codex 1219 (Freer Psalms; v1/v11?) gives only a few letters of the first two verses.

The collation text is A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis* (1931); I refer also to the editions of R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Verus Testamentum graecum* iii (1823), and P. de Lagarde, *Psalterii graeci quinquagena prima* (1892). The papyrus diverges from Rahlfs' text at \rightarrow 3, as it seems, 8, and 14; see the notes below. I have consulted the commentaries of A. Pietersma, 'Empire Re-Affirmed: A Commentary on Greek Psalm 2', in J. H. Ellens et al. (edd.), *God's Word for Our World* ii (2004) 46–62, and E. Bons, in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament* ii (2011) 1500–1502. I am grateful to Pietersma for his comments on the text.

This edition was originally drafted by Dr W. E. H. Cockle; the transcription has been revised for publication by Dr W. B. Henry, who is also responsible for the introduction and commentary.

↓	↖	→	↓
a	γ	a	δ
1	ινα τι εφραξαν εθνη [και ii 1	1	τοτε λαλ[η]σει προς αυ 5
	λαοι εμελετησαν κενα		τους εν οργη αυτου
	παρε|στησαν οι βασιλεις 2		και εν θυμω αυτου τα
	της γης και οι αρχοντες		ρ[α]ξει αυτους · εγω [δε 6
5	συνη[χ]θησαν επ[ι] το	5	κατεσταθην βασιλευς
	αυτο κ[ατ]α του κυ και [κ]α		υπ αυτου επ[ι] σε]μων ο
	τα του χ[υ] αυτου διαψαλμ[α		ρος το αγιον [α]υτου
	διαρρηξωμε[ν] τους δε 3		διαγγελειν [το προ]ς] 7
	ς]μους αυτων · και απορ		το προσταγμα κυ
10	ριψωμεν αφ ημων	10	κς ειπεν προς με υ[ι
	το]ν ζυγον αυτων		ος μου ει συ · εγω
	ο] κατοικων εν ουρανοις 4		σημερον γεγενυ]η
	εκ]γελασεται αυτους		κα σε · αιτησαι παρ εμ]ου 8
	κα]ι ο κς εκμυκτηριει		και δωσω σοι εθνη υς
15	αυτους	15	την κληρονομιαν σ]ου

↓
1 No title is written here, but one may have been present at the foot of the previous page, as in 2151. εθνη [και. It is not possible to say whether or not the end of a stich was marked between these words. Most other manuscripts (including now 2151) have no division here: see Rahlfs. The traces at the end are vestigial: εθνη]η κ[αι is not excluded.

7 διαψαλμ[α, accepted by Rahlfs, has no הלו corresponding to it in the Masoretic Text and is absent from many Greek copies, including now 2150 and (apparently) 2151. For discussion of the problem, see Pietersma, 'Empire Re-Affirmed', 50; *Two Manuscripts* 39.

→
2 αυτου'. The oblique divider appears to grow out of the right-hand branch of υ.

3 και] εν θυμω. The reading at the start is very uncertain, but it is clear that there is no room for the article. Rahlfs prints και εν τω θυμω and records no variants; 2051 and 2151 both have the article, and 2150 seems to have had it (in a lacuna). [Bas.] It. 5.181 (PG XXX 424B) quotes εν θυμω αυτου παραξει αυτοου without the article, no doubt from memory. Pietersma, 'Empire Re-Affirmed', 52, comments that the presence of the article in εν τω θυμω αυτου but not in εν οργη αυτου just before is of 'uncertain significance'. Its absence here in 5344 is perhaps due to assimilation, but one cannot exclude the possibility that 5344 uniquely preserves the truth: cf. e.g. J. Smith, *Translated Hallelujahs* (2011) 57-8, on the choice between εθνεσιν and τοις εθνεσιν at Ps. CIV 1, where 2110 (P. Bodm. XXIV) alone lacks the article.

6 αυτου'. There appears to be surplus ink under the oblique divider and below under the right-hand side of γ in the next line, perhaps offset.

inconsistency in letter formation: for example, μ is normally curved but may have upright sides (e.g. \downarrow 14, \rightarrow 3). The ends of strokes are frequently decorated with heavy finials, notably the left-hand end of the cross-bar of τ . τ and α are often joined to the following letter.

5344 overlaps several other papyri, referred to below by their Rahlfs numbers; descriptions are available in Rahlfs-Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* i.1 (2004). 2051 (P. Lond. Lit. 204; 111 cent.) includes verses 3–8, 2130 (P. Palau Rib. Lit. 1; v/v1) verses 6–8, 2150 (P. Chester Beatty XIV; 1v), edited by A. Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter* (1978) 36–9, verses 1–8, and 2151 (P. Chester Beatty XV; 1v), edited by Pietersma. *The Acts of Phileas Bishop of Thmuis (Including Fragments of the Greek Psalter)* (1984) 80–83 (psalter text), verses 1–3 and 5–8, while 2085 (MPER NS IV 23; v1), an amulet, includes the second stich of verse 7. The parchment codex 1219 (Freer Psalms; vi/vii?) gives only a few letters of the first two verses.

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↓	↔	↓	
a	γ	a	δ
1	ινα τι εφρυξα ^ν εθνη [και	1	τοτε λαλ[η]σει προς αυ
	λαοι εμελετησαν κενα	5	τους εν οργη αυτου
	παρε]κτησαν οι βασιλει ^ς	2	και εν θυμω αυτου τα
	της] γης και οι αρχοντες	6	ρ[α]ξει αυτους· εγω [δε
5	κυνη[χ]θησαν επ[ι] το	5	κατεςταθην βασιλευς
	αυτο· κ|ατ|α του κυ και |κ|α	υπ αυτου· επ[ι] Cειων ο	
	τα του χ[ι]υ αυτου διαψαλμ[α	ρος το αγιον [α]υτου·	
	διαρρηξωμε[ν] τους δε	3	διαγγελλειν [το προς]
	ς]μους αυτων· και απο[ρ	10	το προσταγμα κυ·
10	ρι]ψωμεν αφ ημων	10	κς ειπεν προς με υ[ι]
	το]ν ζυγον αυτων	4	ος μου ει συ· εγω
	ο] κατοικων εν ουρανοις	σημερον γεγεννη]	
	εκ]γελασεται αυτους	8	κα σε· αιτησαι παρ εμ[ου
	κα]ι ο κς εκμυκτηρει ^ι	15	και δωσω σοι εθνη ως
15	αυτους	15	την κληρονομιαν σ[ου

↓
1 No title is written here, but one may have been present at the foot of the previous page, as in 2351. εθνη [και. It is not possible to say whether or not the end of a stich was marked between these words. Most other manuscripts (including now 2151) have no division here: see Rahlfs. The traces at the end are vestigial; εθνη] κ[αι] is not excluded.

7 διαψαλμ[α, accepted by Rahlfs, has no πλο corresponding to it in the Masoretic Text and is absent from many Greek copies, including now 2150 and (apparently) 2151. For discussion of the problem, see Pietersma, 'Empire Re-Affirmed', 50; *Two Manuscripts* 39.

↔
2 αυτου'. The oblique divider appears to grow out of the right-hand branch of υ.

3 και] εν θυμω. The reading at the start is very uncertain, but it is clear that there is no room for the article. Rahlfs prints και εν τω θυμω and records no variants; 2051 and 2151 both have the article, and 2150 seems to have had it (in a lacuna). [Bas.] Is. 5.181 (PG XXX 424B) quotes εν θυμω αυτου παραξει αυτους without the article, no doubt from memory. Pietersma, 'Empire Re-Affirmed', 52, comments that the presence of the article in εν τω θυμω αυτου but not in εν οργη αυτου just before is of 'uncertain significance'. Its absence here in 5344 is perhaps due to assimilation, but one cannot exclude the possibility that 5344 uniquely preserves the truth: cf. e.g. J. Smith, *Translated Hallelujahs* (2011) 57-8, on the choice between εθνεσιν and τοις εθνεσιν at Ps. c1v 1, where 2110 (P. Bodm. XXIV) alone lacks the article.

6 αυτου'. There appears to be surplus ink under the oblique divider and below under the right-hand side of γ in the next line, perhaps offset.

€|ωω was written, to judge by the space. Rahlfs gives this word as €ωω and does not record orthographical variants (cf. his prolegomena, p. 73), but the spelling with -€- is well attested, cf. Lagarde. 2130 and 2150 both have €-; it is not possible to determine how the vowel was spelt in 2051 and 2151.

7 αγιωσ. There is superfluous ink below the final on the right of γ: cf. on 6 αητου'.

8 διαγγελειν. Rahlfs prints διαγγέλλων and records no variants (but some copies have a single λ in the participle: see Holmes-Parsons and Lagarde). 2051 (-ωω) and 2130 both agree with Rahlfs' text, while 2150 and 2151 are not preserved in the relevant place. [Cyr.] Pz. (PG LXIX 720C) understands κειροτόνημαί ... €ς βασιλεία παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ὡστε διαγγέλλειν τὸ πρόσταγμα αὐτοῦ, and the infinitive may have come into the text from a paraphrase of this kind, perhaps by way of a supralinear gloss. [Apoll.] Met. Pz. 2.11 has the infinitive in one version, given by L²Qz. (αὐτὸς δ' ἡγεμονῆα κατέστησεν μ' ἐπιβήσας ...) ἀγγέλλειν βασιλῆος ἐφετμῆν οὐρανόσιο; for other forms of the text, see Ludwig's edition. Cf. also Theod. Stud. Catech. Magn. 2.66 (464.6-9 Papadopoulos-Kerameus) ἐγὼ γὰρ κατετάθην ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ... διαγγέλλειν ὑμῖν τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου.

14 φς. 'αδ', appears to be an addition intended to clarify the construction; like the variant at 8, it may have intruded from a paraphrase. No other copy is reported to have anything between εθνη and τῆν, and there is nothing between the two words in 2051, 2130, or 2151; 2150 is not preserved at this point.

W. E. H. COCKLE / W. B. HENRY

5345. MARK I 7-9, 16-18

104/14(b)
P¹³⁷

4.4 × 4 cm

Second/third century
Plate II

A single fragment from the foot of a papyrus codex leaf, reasonably well preserved on →, but badly abraded on ↓. It contains the middle portions of five lines on each side, and the lower margin to a depth of 1.8 cm.

The lines, as reconstructed below, have c.28 letters: on this basis, and taking as standard the text as printed in Nestle-Aland²⁸, we can calculate that about 20 lines are lost before the first preserved line of ↓, and another 20 between the last preserved line of ↓ and the first preserved line of →. This would suggest a single-column codex with about 25 lines per column, and a written area estimated at 9.4 × 12 cm. A very similar format is found in IX 1167, Genesis, fourth century (?), whose page size has been estimated at 12.4 × 16.6 cm (*Typology* 165, OT15). Like 1167, 5345 would find a place in Turner's Group 9 Aberrant 1 (*Typology* 22). Format is not in itself a criterion for dating: the same classification would include such single-column codices as L 3523 (P⁹⁰), John, assigned to the second century, LXIV 4403 (P¹⁰³), Matthew, second/third century, IX 1171 (P²⁰), Epistle of James, third century, P. Med. inv. 69.24 (P⁸⁸), Mark, fourth century, and P. Laur. IV 142 (P⁸⁹), Hebrews, fourth century.

In this format, the text from the beginning of the Gospel to the foot of ↓ would occupy the whole page, with room perhaps for an initial title. Thus the Gospel began at the top of a right-hand page. We cannot tell whether it formed a single short codex (the complete text would have occupied 78 pages, that is 39 leaves or nearly 20 bifolia), or part of a larger book. But the sequence ↓→ would suit the first leaf of a single-quire codex, see *Typology* 65.

The script is a small, upright, semi-stylized bookhand, roughly bilinear except for *v*, which extends below the line, and ϕ , which extends above and slightly below (the only example of ρ is damaged); *o* (\rightarrow 3) floats slightly above line-level. The normal letter-height is 0.2-0.3 cm, and a line with its line-space occupies c.0.5 cm.; this gives a closely-packed appearance. The scribe aims at calligraphy, but sometimes inconsistently: he uses a triangular *a* with pointed nose, but also with looped nose (e.g. \rightarrow 4 *bis*), a tall straight-backed *c* but also a fully rounded form (\rightarrow 3 \rightarrow *τοικ* and \rightarrow 4 \rightarrow *υεϑαι*). Among his other letter-forms note ϵ tall and straight, the tongue firmly connected to the initial curve but often projecting and once connecting to the next letter; μ with a curved saddle which almost reaches the base-line and then joins its right upright half-way up; ϕ with a wide oval bow, the upper arc somewhat flattened. Overall, we note the contrast, not consistent and not pronounced, between narrow letters (ϵ , *c*) and wide letters (γ , δ , μ , ν , τ , υ , ϕ). Ornamentation is a feature throughout: leftwards oblique half-serifs decorate the feet of γ , μ and ν (first upright), υ , and ϕ , as well as the top of κ and the head and foot of ι . There is also a hint of shading: vertical and oblique strokes are thicker than horizontals.

Dating this hand presents even more difficulties than usual, since the sample is so small and damaged and the scribe inconsistent. Its most indicative feature is the juxtaposition of wide and narrow letters. This appears, in a much more emphatic form, in Turner's 'Formal Mixed' style, whose objectively datable examples belong to the later second and the third century; it appears also in dated documents from the reign of Hadrian on (*GMAW*² p. 22). For the more informal version in 5345 we could compare III 454 (+ P. Laur. IV 134 + PSI II 119, LDAB 3798; plate in *GMAW*² no. 62), Plato, *Gorgias*, assigned to the later second century (the military accounts on the recto, ChLA IV 264, postdate 111). But this is taller and more angular. A closer parallel is XIII 1622 (pl. IV; LDAB 4052), Thucydides II, assigned to the first half of the second century since the contract on the verso (XIV 1710) is dated 148: note the narrow ϵ and ϵ , broad forms of the rounded letters, and in particular the shapes of μ and υ . Among New Testament papyri we find a similar script in LXIV 4403, Matthew (Φ ¹⁰³, LDAB 2938, perhaps the same codex as XXXIV 2683 + LXIV 4405), which the editor assigned to the late second or early third century and P. Orsini and W. Clarysse to the third (*EThL* 88 (2012) 471). P. Mich. III 138, Acts (Φ ³⁸, LDAB 2855), generally assigned to the later third or earlier fourth century, offers another parallel, but to our eye one more developed and therefore later than 5345. All in all, we incline to assign 5345 to the (later) second or (earlier) third century.

There is no evidence of punctuation or other leftional signs, except diaeresis on initial upsilon (\downarrow 4 $\ddot{\upsilon}\mu[\alpha]\zeta$, \rightarrow 4 $\ddot{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\zeta$; in \downarrow 3 $\upsilon\mu\alpha\zeta$ and $\upsilon\delta[\alpha\tau\iota]$ the surface is badly abraded and the expected diaeresis cannot be seen). Iota adscript was apparently not written (\rightarrow 2). A *nomen sacrum* occurs in \downarrow 4 $\overline{\pi\upsilon\iota} = \pi\upsilon(\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau)\iota$.

5345 is only the second copy of Mark's Gospel to surface from Oxyrhynchus: the other, I 3 (069), is a parchment codex assigned to the fifth century. This is now the earliest witness to the text that it covers: P. Chester Beatty I (Φ ⁴⁵), assigned to the third century, does not contain this portion, nor does P. Dura 10 (0212), Tatian's *Diatessaron* (?), datable to the end of the second century or the first half of the third. It offers no readings of interest, except an omission in

→ 3. But, as reconstructed, it does offer a text of about the same length as that in \aleph , against the proposed athetesis of verses 1–3 (Holwerda, Elliott) or 2–3 (Lachmann) or 2b (Beza). Similarly the amulet LXXVI 5073, written in a consciously literary hand of the third/fourth century, copies verses 1–2 almost complete.

For reports of witnesses we have based ourselves on NA²⁸; fuller information about the manuscript readings appears in K. and B. Aland (edd.), *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* IV.1.2 (1998), H. von Soden (ed.), *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* II (1913), and S. C. E. Legg (ed.), *Nouum Testamentum Graece . . . : Euuangelium secundum Marcum* (1935), have also been consulted. Some passages are discussed in H. Greeven and E. Güting, *Textkritik des Markuseuangeliums* (2005).

Since no lateral margins survive, the division of text between lines in the transcript below is editorial.

↓

. . . . .	]μ. [ ] . [	17
	] τῶν [υ]π[οδημα	
των αυτου εγ]ω εβαπτισα υμας υδ[ατι		8
αυτος δε βαπτισει υμ[α]ς π̄νι αγιω και		9
5 εγενετο εν εκει]ναις [ται]ς ημερ[αις		

→

. . . . .	] . . [	[16]
	εν] τη θαλα[σση ησαν γαρ αλιεις	
και ειπε]ν αυτοις δευτε οπισω μου και		17
ποιησω υμας γενεσθαι αλι]εις ανθρωπω(ν)		
5 και ευθυ]ς αφεντε[ε] τα δικ[τυα		18

↓

1]μ. [] . [. μ is represented by a stroke curving upwards from near line-level and converging with an upright at mid-height; the remaining traces are very scanty. NA²⁸ print οὐ οὐκ εἰμι ἰκανὸς κύψας ἄλλαι τῶν ἰμάτια τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ. On this basis we could restore 1–2 as εἰ]μ[ι [ι]σ[τα]μοσ κυψαs λυσαι τον ιμαιτα] τῶν [υ]π[οδημα. A small number of MSS omit κυψαs, following the parallel passages in the other Gospels.

2 τῶν. Traces on damaged areas: of τ, the foot of the upright and the end of the right-hand half of the cross-bar; of ω, small traces suggesting the round of the first lobe; of ν, two small traces that may represent the upper parts of the two uprights. NA²⁸ print τῶν ὑποδημάτων and note no variants (but in fact W, and a few others, have του υποδηματος, cf. John 1.27).

3 υδ[ατι with \aleph B Δ 33 892* f2211 vg Or: εν υδατι A (D) K L P W Γ f¹ 13 28 565 579 700 892¹ 1241 1424 2542 B44 Ξ it: μεν υδατι Θ .

4 ππϛ, i.e. ππ(ευματ)ι. The *nomen sacrum* is badly damaged, but can be clearly recognized from the traces: the left-hand upright of π joining the cross-bar, of which only a third survives, with remains of the supralinear stroke; of ϛ the foot of the left-hand upright, the lower part of the diagonal and the foot of the right-hand upright; above ι tiny traces, probably from the right-hand end of the supralinear stroke.

ππ(ευματ)ι with B L b t vg: εν πνευματι κ Α Δ Κ Ρ Ψ Γ Δ Θ f^{1,13} 28 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 2542 B44 f2211 B̄ it vg^m Or. Note that εν is omitted here as in → 3 υδατι, emphasizing the parallel between υδατι and πνευματι: Luke 3.16 has ὕδατι ... ἐν πνεύματι, Matth. 3.11 and John 1.33 ἐν ὕδατι ... ἐν πνεύματι. See further Greeven and Güting 59-62.

4-5 και | εγενετο. Spacing would allow this, the reading of almost all the MSS, or εγενετο δε with W aur ff² sa^m bo^m: και om. B, εγενετο om. Θ f2211 t¹.

→ 1] . [. We have found no secure reading of the traces. Perhaps]οβ[, which leads to the restoration οβ[ελφον αυτου αμφιβαλλοντας: in that case the spacing would favour αυτου (D W Γ Θ 28 33 579 1424 2542 ρm lat sy^p bo^m) against the longer variants Cιμωνος, του Cιμωνος, and αυτου του Cιμωνος, and αμφιβαλλοντας (κ B L 33) against the longer variants αμφιβαλλοντας τα δικτυα, βαλλοντας αμφιβληστρον, and αμφιβαλλοντας αμφιβληστρον. As an alternative reading we have tried]στ[, which would suit αδελφον]του Cιμωνος (A Δ f^{1,13} 1241 ρm) αμφιβαλλοντας (again excluding the longer variants).

3 αυτοις: αυτοις ο Ιησους most other witnesses (NA²⁸ cite no variant, but ο Ιησους is omitted also in Φ and 1194, see von Soden, and a further scatter of minuscules, see <http://nrmf.uni-muenster.de/nt-transcripts>). 5345 may have omitted the name (written as a *nomen sacrum*), by parablepsia in the sequence αυτοις. Alternatively, it may represent a more economical text, to which ο Ιησους was at some point added for clarity. For similar cases see Greeven and Güting 473-5.

4 αλη[εις. The final trace is of upright ink, in the upper two-thirds of the line, close to the right-hand edge. The ink thickens at the top: it may be that αλη[εις would fit better, and in fact that is the spelling offered here by κ Α Β* C L Δ. See further BDAG s.v., and for some examples in documentary papyri Cignac, *Grammaire* i 251.

5 τα δικτυα: so all MSS, except τα ληνα 700 and παντα D it.

D. OBBINK / D. COLOMO

5346. LUKE XIII 13-17, 25-30

101/219(b)
9¹³⁸

(a) 3.5 × 4.5 cm; (b) 3.8 × 4 cm

Third century
Fol. III

Two fragments from the outer edge of a codex leaf, with only one line lost in between. In combination they preserve parts of 13 lines on the → side and 14 lines on the ↓ side. The outer margin is 0.8 cm wide at its narrowest on the → side and 1.3 cm wide on the ↓ side.

→ 1 stands at the level of ↓ 2. The lines, as reconstructed below, have c.33 letters each: on this basis, and taking as standard the text as printed in NA²⁸, we can calculate that 19 complete lines are lost between the last preserved line of → and the first preserved line of ↓. This would suggest a single-column codex with about 33 lines per page. The column thus reconstructed

would have an estimated written area of 16.5 × 21 cm. This format comes close to that of P. Beatty 1 (P⁴⁵) and Turner's NT Apocrypha 9 (LDAB 3138), and 5346 belongs with them to his Group 4 (*Typology* 16).

The handwriting is a somewhat uneven version of the Biblical Majuscule style, upright and bilinear (only *v* regularly descends below the line) and slightly compressed vertically; the letters are normally separate one from another, but *α*, *γ*, and *τ* touch their next neighbour. There is heavy shading, horizontals thin, uprights (and sometimes obliques) thick; and mild ornamentation, in the form of small serifs or hooks to the feet of uprights and the ends of horizontals. The scribe is inconsistent in his letter-forms: the angular nose of *α* sometimes has its lower element straight, sometimes curved; *ι* and *ρ* sometimes end on the line, sometimes extend below; *ο* fills the whole line-space in ↓ 6, occupies the upper part only in ↓ 3, and floats in the middle in ↓ 11. As usual, it is difficult to decide whether these variations indicate an early, informal stage of the script or simply imperfect execution by a careless writer. On the former assumption, we are inclined to assign 5346 to the third century, earlier rather than later: compare LXII 4327 (Demosthenes), also assigned to the earlier third century, since its back carries a document whose cursive was assigned to the third century (though the early fourth century may not be excluded).

The scribe punctuates by a short, thick, deliberate oblique, level with or slightly below the letter-tops. In → 1, 2, and 13, the stop marks sentence-end, in → 3 and 11 the beginning of a subordinate clause or phrase. In → 12, if the stop is rightly read, it stands between the important infinitive and the first of its string of complements. P⁴⁵ and P⁷⁵ (P. Bodm. XIV) are less fully marked up: P⁷⁵ coincides only in a stop after → 2 *θ̄ν*, and perhaps in another after → 4 *ιης* (where 5346 is damaged); it also has stops after *οχλω*, *εργαζεσθαι*, *καββατου*, και *ειπεν*, and *ποτιζει*. P⁴⁵ has a stop after → 2 *θ̄ν* (and then after *καββατου* and *ποτιζει*)—a more economical marking of major units only. Neither breaks up the complex sentence → 10–13. Note that the stops in A coincide with five of those preserved in 5346 (all except that in → 12), while none of the other manuscripts dated to the third–fifth centuries (P⁴⁵, P⁷⁵, K, B, D, W) has a stop in all of the five places in question; indeed 5346 and A seem to stand alone in this group in having stops after *αγανακτων* (→ 3) and *κατανας* (→ 11), though W has a short blank space for punctuation after the latter. See further the note at the head of the commentary on →. It is worth considering whether these stops are 'reading marks' (*GMAW*² p. 144) rather than simple punctuation; on lectors in the early Church see D. Näselsqvist, *Public Reading in Early Christianity* (2016).

Nomina sacra appear in → 2 *θ̄ν* and probably in → 4 *ιης*; they are supplied in → 8, ↓ 1, 10, 13, where they suit the spacing. Iota adscript was perhaps added in ↓ 10.

This is the third fragment of Luke to have been published from Oxyrhynchus, after XXIV 2383 (P⁶⁹) and LXVI 4495 (P¹¹¹), both datable to the third century. Among papyrus witnesses, as noted, 5346 overlaps P. Beatty 1 (P⁴⁵), assigned to the third century, and P. Bodm. XIV–XV (P⁷⁵), assigned to the third or earlier fourth century.

For reports of witnesses we have used NA²⁸, with the more detailed collations to be found in the IGNTP *The Gospel According to St. Luke* ii (1987).

-
- (a) χεί]ρας' xliii 13
 και παραχηρημα ανωρθωθη και εδοξαζεν τον θν'
 αποκριθεις δε ο αρχικυναγωγος αγανακτω]ν' 14
 οτι τω σαββατω εθεραπευεν αυτην ο ι]ης ελε
 5 γεν τω οχλω οτι εξ ημεραι εις εν αις] δει εργα
 ζεσθαι εν αυταις ουν ερχομενοι θεραπευεις]θε
 [και μη τη ημερα του σαββατου απεκριθη δε] 15
- (b) αυτω ο κς και ειπεν υποκριται εκαστος]ς υμων
 τω σαββατω ου λυει τον βουν αυτου η τ]ον ορον
 10 απο της φατνης και απαγων ποτιζει ταυτην] δε θυ 16
 γατερα Αβρααμ ουκαν ην εδησεν ο σατ]αρας'
 ιδου δεκα και οκτω ετη ουκ εδει λυθην]αι' απο
 του δεσμου τουτου τη ημερα του σαββατου]ν' κ[α]ι 17

↓

- (a) τ[η]ν [θυραν λεγοντες κε ανοιξον ημιν και απο [25]
 κριθ]εις ερει υμιν ουκ οίδα υμας ποθεν εστε
 τοτ[ε αρξεσθε λεγειν εφαγομεν ενωπιον σου 26
 κ[αι επιομεν και εν ταις πλατειαις ημων εδι
 5 δαξα]ς και ερει λεγων υμιν ουκ οίδα υμας 27
 ποθ]εν εστε αποστητε απ εμου παντες εργα
 ται τ]ης αδικιας εκει εσται ο κλαυθμος και ο βρυ 28
 [γμος των οδοντων οταν οψησθε Αβρααμ]
- (b) και Ισακ [και Ιακωβ και παντας τους προφητας
 10 εν τη] β[ασιλεια του θυ υμας δε εκβαλλομε
 νους [εξω και ηξουσιν απο ανατολων και 29
 απο β[ορρα και νοτου και ανακλιθουνται εν τη βα
 30 σιλε]ια του θυ και ιδου εις εν εσχατοι οι εσον
 ται π[ρωτοι

The line-length has been estimated from a letter-by-letter reconstruction.

—

Punctuation has been omitted from the supplements, since its presence cannot be deduced reliably on the basis of spacing alone. The following reconstruction, necessarily still more speculative than that printed above, incorporates the stops given in A, which seems to be close to 5346 in this matter: see introd.

		χει]ρας ^ϕ	xiii 13
	και παραχρημα ανιρωθωη ^ϕ και εδοξαζεν τον θυ ^ϕ		
	αποκριθεις δε ο αρχισυναγωγος αγανακτω]ν ^ϕ	14	
	οτι τω σαββατω εθεραπευεν αυτην ο ι]ης ελε		
5	γεν τω οχλω ^ϕ οτι εξ ημεραι εις εν αις] δει εργα		
	ζεσθαι ^ϕ εν αυταις ουν ερχομενοι θεραπειες]θε [	15	
	[και μη τη ημερα του σαββατου ^ϕ απεκριθη δε]		
	αυτω ο κς και ειπεν ^ϕ υποκριται ^ϕ εκαστο]ς υμων		
	τω σαββατω ^ϕ ου λυει τον βουν αυτου η τ]ον ουου		
10	απο της φατιης ^ϕ και απαγων ποτιζει ^ϕ ταυτην] δε θυ	16	
	γατερα Αβρααμ ουσαν ^ϕ ην εδηξεν ο σατ]ανας ^ϕ		
	ιδου δεκα και οκτω ετη ^ϕ ουκ εδει λυθηνη]αι ^ϕ απο		
	του δεκμου τουτου τη ημερα του σαββατου]υ ^ϕ κ[α]ι	17	

4 ι]ης ελε. ελε seems probable, though only the lower parts of the letters survive (of λ the feet, then perhaps the lower left quadrant of a circle). Before that, the lower part of ε, and before that the lower part of an upright. These traces would allow a *nomen sacrum*]ις or ι]ης, as might be expected, but not]ηςο]υς in full (the upright is too close to the sigma). However, that makes difficulties with the reconstruction. We print εθεραπευεν αυτην, because εθεραπειεν alone leaves the line too short. But εθεραπειεν alone is the reading of almost all witnesses: only 1524 (a lectionary of the twelfth century) and the Georgian and (some MSS of) the Old Church Slavonic versions attest αυτην (IGNTP).

We might expect a stop after ι]ης as in Ψ^{75} , marking the end of the clause as that in 3 marks the beginning, but the surface is damaged.

8–9 The traces at the end of 8 are damaged and scattered, and the reading offered may be wrong; at the end of 9]ου is reasonably secure, the rest vestigial. The reconstruction printed leaves us in difficulties with 10: even if in the supplement we adopt απαγων (K^a B^a Θ I) rather than απαγαγων (most other witnesses), that line looks too long. Was a short word omitted?

10–11 θυ]γατερα. As reconstructed, line 11 is a little short: perhaps the scribe wrote θυγατεραν, like a number of the medieval MSS (see J. R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (2008) 312 n. 636).

12 δεκα και οκτω. Ψ^{45} writes this as a numeral, ιη, and so did Ψ^{75} , to judge from the spacing, but the line-length shows that 5346 wrote the number out in full. We cannot tell whether this was the scribe's general practice, or peculiar to '18', whose numeral form ιη coincides with the short *nomen sacrum* ιη for]ηςο]υς (the norm in Ψ^{45} , but rare elsewhere and not in 5346, see → 4). See Z. J. Cole, *Numerals in Early Greek New Testament Manuscripts* (2017) 178–84.

λυθηνη]αι^ϕ: the stop shows as oblique ink above the line, touching the top of the damaged ι.

↓ 1-14 Ψ^{45} is lost, except for a few words of verses 25 ($\{\theta\upsilon[\rho]\alpha\upsilon\}$) and 29-30 ($\{\alpha\}\mu\alpha\kappa\lambda\iota\{\theta\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota, \tau\}\mu\alpha\iota$ πρωτοι και πρωτοι ↓).

5 λεγων υμιν (Ψ^{75c} B 892) supplied to suit the estimated space ($\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \upsilon\mu\iota\nu\ \Psi^{75}$: A D K L N W Γ Δ Θ Ψ $f^{1,13}$ 565 700 1241 1424 2542 \mathfrak{M} $sy^{a,c,h}$ (bo^m)): υμιν alone κ 579 lat sy^p 52 bo^p.

5-6 $\{\sigma\upsilon\kappa\ \sigma\iota\delta\alpha\ \upsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma\}$ | $\pi\omicron\theta\{\epsilon\upsilon\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\}$ with κ A K N W Γ Δ Θ Ψ $f^{1,13}$ 565 579 700 892 1424 \mathfrak{M} lat sy ; 2 Cl Or Did: υμας om. Ψ^{75} B L 070 1241 2542 b ff² i l: ουδεποτε ειδον υμας D (e). The line-length shows that 5346 did not omit υμας.

7 τ^{\supset} [$\eta\varsigma$. τ is represented by the left-hand end of the cross-bar; above it parts of a damaged a. At this point the paradosis offers της αδικιας (A K N W Γ Δ Θ 070 f^1 565 579 700 1241 2542 \mathfrak{M}) or αδικιας without the article (Ψ^{75} κ B L Ψ 892) or της ανομιας (1424 bo^m Epiph) or ανομιας without the article (D). The suprascript might be α[δικιας or α[νομιας entered as a variant or correction. But what was the original reading?

9 $\iota\sigma\alpha\kappa$. So κ^* D L 0303 1365: $\iota\sigma\alpha\kappa$ the other witnesses. Cf. Cignac, *Grammar* i 299.

10 $\tau\eta$: High ink to the right of η might have been taken as a stop. But clearly punctuation makes no sense here, and we have preferred to see a stubby iota, added above the line, to give $\tau\eta\iota$ βλακεια(i). Such interventions, when traditional orthography required the iota adscript, are not uncommon, cf. e.g. LIII 3721 (Theophrastus). Often it is a correcting hand that intervenes; here the stroke looks like the work of the original scribe.

11-12 απο ανατολων και] απο β[ορρα: απο ανατολων και δυκμων MSS, then και απο βορρα B L f^{13} 892 it: απο βορρα Ψ^{75} and 070: και βορρα κ A D K N W Γ Δ Θ Ψ f^1 565 579 700 1424 2542 \mathfrak{M} lat sy^p . In 11 as reconstructed there is no room for δυκμων: perhaps και δυκμων was omitted by parablepsis, as in one MS of the Old Latin Version (IGNTP).

12 Here too the standard text, as supplied, produces a longer line than expected. Perhaps a short element was omitted: και after νοτου om. 131 and two MSS of the Bohairic version (IGNTP).

D. OBBINK / D. COLOMO

5347. PHILEMON 6-8, 18-20

83/66(b)
 Ψ^{139}

3.3 × 4.9 cm

Fourth century
Plate II

A fragment of a codex leaf. → comes first, giving parts of ten lines and the right-hand edge of a column, while ↓ gives parts of nine lines and a left-hand margin. A line held c.15-17 letters and was c.5.5-6.0 cm wide. The whole epistle would occupy about 92 such lines; ↓ 2 will be perhaps the 37th line after → 10. Five lines together with the interlinear space below the fifth take up an area 2.7 cm high. If the ↓ column is the next after the → column, the column will have held about 45 lines and been about 24 cm tall. The format of the codex may then have been similar to that of the fourth-century P. Chester Beatty IV (LXX Genesis, Rahlfs 961), Turner's OT 5 (*Typology* 164), a two-column codex copied in a similar hand, with a written area measuring 13.3 × 21 cm and an estimated page size of 18 × 28 cm. In that case, it would be one of the many codices belonging to Turner's Group 5 (*Typology* 16-17). For papyrus codices written in two columns, see Turner's Table 3 (*Typology* 36) and K. Aland and H.-U.

Rosenbaum, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri* II.1 (1995) 396 n. 5; for New Testament examples, see LXXIV 4968 introd. (p. 2) and the INTF Kurzgefaßte Liste, <http://ntvmt.uni-muenster.de/liste>. (Alternatively, one could assume that the papyrus had one column to a page, or that each of the preserved columns is the inner column of a two-column page, but the dimensions of the written area would be anomalous in either case.) The part of the epistle preceding → 1, not including any initial title, will have taken up about 22 lines in this format, or about half a column, and the codex will have been about 119 pages long if it originally held the entire Pauline corpus, or about 103 pages long if the Hebrews was omitted.

The papyrus was written in a relatively formal round book hand in the Biblical Majuscule style with considerable shading for its size, using carbon ink. The letters are 2–3 mm capitals, independent, upright though somewhat squat, and generally bilinear, although ρ, υ, and φ project. The writing is better preserved on → than on ↓. There are occasional ligatures (e.g. ↓ 3) and flourishes (χ and τ). The hand may be roughly assigned to the fourth century: cf. P. Amh. II 24 (GBEPP 13c), assigned to the second half of the fourth century. The considerable shading suggests that the hand post-dates the beginning of the fourth century, though its relative lack of flourishes and the still substantial middle stroke of υ indicate that it is earlier and much less decadent than the Vienna Dioscorides, which is securely dated to c. 513 (GBEPP 25b).

The scribe twice adds a stop in the upper part of the line (→ 5, ↓ 5); there is a forked paragraphos at ↓ 8. Diaeresis is used at ↓ 5. In → 5 a rough breathing and perhaps an acute accent have been added (in greyer ink), in → 10 a circumflex accent. One supralinear correction in the original hand occurs in ↓ 6; cf. also ↓ 8–9 n. ει and ι are confused in ↓ 4, 7. If we can generalize from ↓ 4, the scribe did not write iota adscript. The cases of Χριστός were written as two-letter *nomina sacra* (→ 2, [9]), except perhaps at ↓ 9 before correction: see n. There is no other evidence for the scribe's practice in respect of the usual *nomina sacra*.

5347 overlaps P⁶¹ (P. Ness. II 5), assigned to the seventh century, which attests verses 4–7. The only other published papyrus of Philemon is P⁸⁷ (P. Köln IV 170), assigned to the third century, containing verses 13–15 and 24–5. Thus 5347 constitutes a rare early witness to the text, roughly contemporary with our oldest parchment copies.

Reports of witnesses draw on NA²⁸ and K. Wachtel and K. Witte (edd.), *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus ii: Die paulinischen Briefe, Teil 2* (1994). In addition the full collations in S. M. Solomon, *The Textual History of Philemon* (Diss. NOBTS 2014), have been consulted. I record my thanks to Dr D. Colomo and Dr W. B. Henry for their many improvements to drafts of this edition.

→	↓		
		] παυ[τος	6
		...] . . .]	18
		αγαθου εν] υμειν [ε]ις χν̄	7
		το[ε]ουτο εμ[οι ελλογα	19
		χαραν γαρ πο]λλην εκχον	19
		εγω παυ[ος εγραφα τη	19
		και παρακ]λησις επι	19
		εμη χειρε[ε]ι εγω αποτι	19
5		τη αγαπη ε]ου· οτι τα	5
		εω· ινα μη [λεγω σοι ο	5
		επλαγχνα] των αγιων	5
		τι και 'αυτο]ν μοι προς	5
		αναπεπα]υται δια σου	5
		οφειλει ν[αι αδελφε	20
		αδελφε δ]ιο πολλην εν	8
		εγω σου ο[ναιμην	8
		χω παρρησιαν] εχων ε	8
		χω[ρ.]	8
10		πιτασσειν σοι το α]νη[	10

→ 1-2 παντος αγαθου Φ^{61} A C 048 33 629 f vg^m; παντος αγαθου του κ D K L P Ψ 0278 81 104 365 630 1241 1505 \mathfrak{M} ; Hier (the space in 5347 excludes του): παντος εργου αγαθου του F G vg^s; παντος αγαθου η 1739 1881 it vg^{ms}; Ambst.

2 εν] υμειν (l. υμειν) with Φ^{61} κ F G P 0278 33 104 365 1505 1739 1881 ar b vg^a sy co: εν ημιν A C D K L Ψ 048^{ms} 81 630 1241 \mathfrak{M} vg^s sy^{ms}; Ambst: om. 629 vg^m.

χν̄: remains of a diagonal ascending from left to right on the lower half of χ, in greyer ink like that of the lectional signs in 5; deletion? or simple smudging? No variant is recorded for Χ(ριστου) here; many MSS add Ιησουν after it, but 5347 has no space for even the abbreviated ιω.

3 πο]λλην εκχον: so Φ^{61} κ A C F G P 048 0278 33 81 104 365 1739 1881 (f vg) co: πολλην εκχομεν D* b; μεγαλην εκχωμεν 629; εκχομεν πολλην K L Ψ 630 1241 \mathfrak{M} sy (D² 1505: πολλην εκχομεν).

5 οτι. The lectional sign might be seen as an extreme form of rough breathing in Turner's form 3 (GMAW² p. 11), but the right-hand oblique looks so deliberate that I have provisionally taken it as an acute accent touching the breathing to its left.

↓ 1] . . . [: a trace on the edge, followed by a diagonal descending from left to right (α, λ, or possibly κ?), then the lower part of an upright with further ink projecting rightwards at two-thirds height. This would allow a restoration ηδ[ι]κη[εν] εε η οφειλει (for the spelling cf. 6-7), agreeing with the transmitted text.

2 το[ε]ουτο: τοϋτο all MSS. After the first το, a hole of medium width. το[τ]ουτο (a banal dittography) could be considered, but τ is too wide for the space, whereas ε fits well. This new variant makes sense in the context, but has no clear advantage over the usual reading τουτο.

ελλογα: or ελλογει. The MSS are divided between these variants, and the spacing here cannot decide between them.

4 χειρε[ε]ι: l. χειρι.

6 αυτον (to be understood as αὐτόν?) corrected to εαυτον: εεαυτον almost all MSS: εαυτον 0150 256 263 365 1241 1933 2110 (see Solomon 427; not recorded in NA²⁸). In later Greek the form εαυτου comes to be used also as a first- and second-person pronoun, replacing ἐμαυτου and εεαυτου; see LSJ s.v.; Radermacher, *NT Grammatik* 73; BDAG s.v. εαυτου 1b; Gignac, *Grammar* ii 169.

6-7 προσφιλεις: l. -οφιλεις. 5347 does not have the εν κυριω given by D* after this.

8-9 NA²⁸ prints ἐγω σου δυναμην εν κυριω: ἀναπαυσόν μου τὰ σπλάχνα εν Χριστω (noting that D² K B ar vg have not Χριστω but κυριω). In 8 a supplement θ[ναιμην εν κω would fit the space. The forked paragraphos then marks the sentence-end. However, it would normally indicate the end of a section rather than a sentence, and the next section-end comes later, after εν Χριστω. We could then suggest that the copyist skipped from εν κυριω to εν Χριστω (especially if his exemplar had the variant εν κυριω here too), omitting the words in between. That would resolve one problem, but leave another in the next line, which certainly does not continue with the text of verse 21. It seems to begin χρ .[, the final traces perhaps parts of a left-hand curve; above ρ and perhaps above χ there are remains of ink, possibly deletion-dots. That would suggest χρ[ε]στ-. i.e. Χριστ-: perhaps Χριστω was carried over from the line before, and then deleted. It is strange to find the word written in full, not as a *nomen sacrum*, but it is very occasionally so written, as in B at 1 Pet. 1.11 and 2 Cor. 10.7 (both with χρ[ε]στ- corrected to χρ[ι]στ-).

9ff. The remaining portion of the standard text would occupy 14-16 lines.

D. LINCICUM

5348. EZEKIEL TRAGICUS, *EXAGOGÉ* 7-40, 50-54 (EXCERPTS)

15 2B.43/E(c) + (g) back

23 × 27 cm

Third/fourth century
Plate I

Four fragments of a sheet carrying on its front a private letter. On the back, two extracts from Ezekiel Tragicus corresponding to those in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.23.155-6: see below. Eusebius, *PE* 9.28.2-3, has a fuller text, drawn from Alexander Polyhistor, *περι Ἰουδαίων* (*FGrHist* 273 F 19), and Clement will be dependent on the same source: see H. Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (1983) 36-7; W. Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians* (2003) 66-8.

The text, written across the fibres, occupies 30 lines, of which lines 26-7 are wholly or partly blank. The original sheet will have measured c.24 × 27 cm. The scribe leaves a top margin of 1.7 cm and a lower margin of 1.1 cm. A left-hand margin survives to 2.1 cm; on the right, the scribe continues almost to the edge in the preserved lower part, and a strip has been lost beyond that edge (note that the line-beginnings of the recto text are missing, and cf. 1-13 n.). The column was c.20.5-21.5 cm wide, with about 40 letters to a line. For similarly long lines in private copies on reused papyrus cf. LXIX 4738 (Lucian) and LXXX 5226 (Dioscorides).

On the front, and the same way up, is a much-damaged letter from a certain Faus[tus] to an unknown recipient, written in a handsome third-century cursive of the chancery type. The top and right-hand margins survive; there is no clear margin at the foot, but since the letter has already begun the final greetings in line 26, it may be that line 30, the last surviving, was the last or nearly the last of the letter. A central topic is the delivery of large quantities of pitch in lumps

(βῶλοι), but not enough survives to show the purpose of the delivery: the substance was in demand by various trades, see XXXI 2580 introduction (for the pitching of wine-jars add e.g. L 3595). We might have expected to find an address on the other side, but none can be seen.

The handwriting is a careless and slapdash attempt at a literary script, slanted to the right. Letters are normally made separately, with a few regular ligatures (αι, ει). μ (legs curved and widely splayed) and π (wide, the horizontal projecting to either side) contrast with the narrower forms of other letters; ο (sometimes circular, sometimes oval) and ω (wide and shallow) float high in the line, by contrast with the descenders of ι, ρ, and φ, which reach almost to the line below; the tail of υ, sometimes sinuous, is more curtailed. These contrasts recall informal sloping examples of the 'formal mixed' style such as XXVII 2458 (Euripides, *GMAW*² 32), assigned to the third century; other more cursive relations, like XXXIII 2656 (Menander, *GMAW*² 43) and P. Bodm. IV (Menander; *GBEBP* 5b), have been variously assigned to the earlier or later fourth century (on P. Bodm. IV see the tenuous arguments of P. Orsini, *Adamantius* 21 (2015) 64-6). 5348 has some likeness to the signature of BGU IV 1092 (*GBEBP* 6b), dated 372, but that has more distinctively Byzantine characteristics. We incline therefore to assign our papyrus to the (later) third or (earlier) fourth century.

There are no lectional signs except diaeresis (ιδ- 1, 11; in 24 υπ- the area above υ is lost) and elision mark (9, 11, 12, 15); unmarked elision 19, *scriptio plena* instead of elision 24 (twice?), *scriptio plena* instead of crasis 5 τα αρσενικα, 16 και ελαβεν. The scribe leaves occasional blanks (indicated by ' in the transcript): in 7, 16 and 19 as punctuation, but elsewhere (14, 21) apparently random, something to remember in estimating the lengths of supplements. His orthography is correct, with the exception of phonetic αβραιος for 'Εβραϊος (5, 12; correct in 14) and perhaps εμιν for ἡμῖν in 5; iota adscript is omitted in 19 ἠνοσ. He corrects minor mistakes by adding missing letters above or within the line (19, 21); he blots out a wrong letter in 3, and crosses out a phrase wrongly repeated with heavy horizontal strokes (16). He does not abbreviate μῆτηρ and its cases (6, 15, 20) to a *nomen sacrum*, as happens in the MS of Clement. See further 22 n.

5348 contains verses 7 to 40 (part only?) of the play, then two lines at least partially blank, then verses 50 (omitting the first foot) to 54. This reproduces exactly the quotation in Clement; the blank corresponds to the prose summary with which Clement replaces verses 41-9. Note also that 5348 follows Clement in moving straight from verse 31 to verse 32, whereas in Eusebius a linking sentence after 31 may indicate that some verses have been omitted. This all confirms that 5348 does not derive from a complete text of Ezekiel. It is an isolated sheet, first used for Faustus' letter, then reused to copy these excerpts directly from Clement. It is now our earliest witness for Ezekiel's text, at least as Clement quoted it.

The trimeters are written out as continuous prose, in long lines, with no indication of verse-divisions. This is common in school exercises (Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* 87-8). Speeches from drama form a typical exercise, see e.g. LXXXI 5293 (Menander), XLIX 3432 (New Comedy), LXXIX 5183 (Euripides). 5348 itself does not look like a school exercise: the hand is practised and slapdash, not the hesitant and clumsy script of a learner. But the format, the informal script, the messy deletion in 16, and the absence of lectional signs all point

to a private copy, made for the pleasure of writing or for the interest or rarity of the content (the life-story of Moses, narrated by Moses himself, which formed the prologue of the play). The scribe may have chosen the prose format for himself, or taken it from his source (the MS L of Clement certainly writes the verses as prose). If he did indeed draw directly on Clement, it is interesting to find that the *Stromata*, a substantial book, circulated in Oxyrhynchus at this relatively early date. The only other relevant papyrus, P. Köln VII 297 (assigned IV/V AD), which contains parts of *Strom.* 6.8 (KV 9a+b in K. Aland and H.-U. Rosenbaum, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri* II.1 (1995) 40–45), is of uncertain provenance.

Since 5348 transmits Clement's extracts from Ezekiel, it naturally tends to side with the medieval manuscript of Clement (L) against the medieval manuscripts of Eusebius (BION): 4 (11) πολεσι, 4–5 (12) κη]ρυσσεμιν (see note), 7 (15) ω[ε, 9 (17) βαθυ, perhaps 20 (33) ηγεν (see n.). In some places where the reading of BION is metrical and that of L unmetrical, it agrees with the Eusebian tradition, evidence perhaps for Clement's text before it was corrupted: 8 (17) ακ]ρα, 14 (25) ε]η, 16 (27) μ. But it agrees with Eusebius also in writing εκα]τι rather than εκη]τι at 4 (11) and probably δ' rather than μ' at 11 (21). It adds one unique error, δη in 6 (14), unmetrical, and apparently omitted a word in 30 (54). It joins the whole medieval tradition in apparent corruptions at 9 (17) αδελφημων and 13–14 (24) τωδε (...) παιδι. It sustains the much emended κόλπος in 25 (39).

For the collation we have used Snell–Kannicht, *TrGF* I² (Berlin 1986) no. 128 (pp. 288–301), together with the critical editions of Clement (GCS Clem. II⁴, Stählin–Früchtel–Treu, 1985) and Eusebius (GCS Eus. VIII.1², Mraz–des Places, 1982). Of Clement we have only one primary manuscript, L, of Eusebius four, BION; L, B, and O have been checked online. In the notes, 'Clem.' gives the reading of L, 'Eus.' the consensus of BION.

Recent editions of Ezekiel include those of H. Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (1983), C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* ii (1989) 301–529, and P. Lanfranchi, *L'Exagoge d'Ezéchiel le Tragique* (2006).

In the transcript, suprascript numerals mark the individual trimeters as numbered in *TrGF*:

7 ἴδων γαρ ἡμων γε[ννα]ν αλις ηυξημ[ενην]⁸ δολον καθ ἡμων
 πολυν εμηχα]ιησα]το⁹ βασιλευ[ε] Φαραω τους μεν εν πλιν
 θευμασιν¹⁰ οικο[δο]μιας τε [φ] βαρε[ειν] αικιζων βροτους
 11 πολεσι τε πυρ[γους] εφων εκα]τι δυσμορων¹² επειτα κη
 5 ρυσσεμιν Αιβρ[αιων] γενε[ε] ¹³ τα αρε[νικα] ριπτειν ποταμον
 ες βαθυρροον¹⁴ [εν]τ]αυθα δη μητ[η]ρ η τεκουσ εκρυπτε με
 15 τρεις μηνας ω[ε] φασκ]εν¹ ου λαθο[υσα] δε¹⁶ υπε[ε]θηκε κοσμον
 αμφιθεισα μοι¹⁷ [παρ ακ]ρα ποταμ[ου] λασιον εις ελος
 βαθυ¹⁸ Μαριαμ δ' αδελφημων κα[τ]ωπτευεν πελας¹⁹ κα
 10 πειτα θυγατηρ βασιλεωσ αβραι[ε] ομ[ου]²⁰ κατηλθε λουτροισ

χρωτα φαιδρυναι νεον ²¹ ἴδουσα δ' ε[υ]θυς και λαβους ανειλετο
²² εγνω δ' Αιβραιον οντα και λεγει τ[α]δε ²³ Μαρ[ι]αμ [α]δελφ[η]
 προσδραμονα βασιλιδι ²⁴ θελει[ς τροφον ς]οι τωδ[ε] . . .
²⁵ παιδι ευ * ρω ταχυν ²⁵ εκ των Εβρ[αιων] η δε [πε]πε[ρ]ει[ς] εν κο
 15 ρην ²⁶ μολουσα δ' ε[ι]πε μητρι κ[αι] παρην τ[α]χυ ²⁷ α[υ]τη τε
 μητηρ και [παρην] ταχυ ελαβεν μ[ε]ς α[γ]κα[λας] * ²⁸ ειπεν
 δε θυγατηρ βασιλεωϲ τουτον [γυ]ναϊ ²⁹ [τροφ]ε[υ]ε καγω μι
 εθον αποδωσω ϲεθεν ³⁰ ον[ομα] δε Μωυση]ν ω[ν]ο
 μαζε του χαριν ³¹ υγρας ανειλε [ποτ]αμ[ιας] απ ηνος * ³² επει
 20 δε κα[ι]ρος νηπιων παρ]ηλθε μ[ε] ³³ ηγεν με μητηρ βα
 σιλ[η]ος [προς] δωματα ³⁴ απ[α]ν[τα] μ[υ]θευεϲα κ' αι λεϲαα
 μοι ³⁵ [γενος] πατρων και θεου δωρη]ματα ³⁶ εωϲ μεν ουν
 τον [παιδος] ειχομεν χρονον ³⁷ τρο]φαισι βασιλικαι[ς] ι
 κ[α]ι [π]αιδευμασιν ³⁸ απαντα υπι[σ]χνει]τ[ο] ως απο σπλαγχνω(ν)
 25 εων ³⁹ επει δε πλ]ηρης κολπος η [μερων] παρ]η ⁴⁰ εξηλθον οι
 κων βασιλικων] υαc. [] υαc.
 | υαc. [] υαc.
⁵⁰ τι τυπτει αcθενεcτερο]ν ϲεθεν ⁵¹ ο δ [ειπεν] ημ[ιν] τ[ι]ϲ α[πε]cτει
 λε κριτην ⁵² η πιcτατην] ενταυθα [.] [. . .] με ⁵³ ω[ς] περ
 30 τον εχθεc ανδρα και δε]ϲαc εγω ⁵⁴ [.] [.] μφ[]

1-13 The line-ends are lost. 14-25 give guidance in estimating the lengths of possible supplements, but the writing there goes right up to the edge, which suggests that the original sheet extended further to the right (see introd.). This is the justification for printing supplements in 7 and 11 which would project c.1.5 cm beyond the edge as now preserved.

3 (10) -μαιε with Clem. Eus. N²: -μαϊε Eus. BION¹ (-μίας conjectured by Sylburg).

4 (11) πολει with Clem.: πόλει Eus.

τε πυρ[γους]: so Clem. and Eus.: editors adopt Sylburg's emendation τ' ἐπύργου. We restore [γους] to fit the gap as we estimate it. But the script is irregular, and we cannot exclude τ επυρ[γου].

εκα[τι] with Eus.: ἕκῃτι Clem.

4-5 (12) επειτα κη]ρυσσειμιν: επειτα κηρύσσει ἡμῖν Clem.: επειτα κηρύσσει μὲν Eus. The copyist perhaps wrote εἰμιν by itacism for ἡμῖν, but there is no clear trace of an elision-mark after -cc. επειτ' ἐκήρυκε ἡμῖν Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* iv 573.

5 (12) Αιβρ[αιων]: l. Εβραίων.

γενει: of ε only a vertical trace in the upper part of the line, but the lower extension of ι is clearly visible well below the line. So Clem. Eus. The conjectures γονηc (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* iv 573) and γένη (H. Jacobson, *AJP* 98 (1977) 415-16) are excluded.

5 (13) τα αρϲε[νικα]: Clem. and Eus. have τάρσεινκά with crasis.

6 (13) βαθυροον: so Eus., βαθύρρον Clem.

6 (14) [ε-τ]αυθα δη μητ[ηρ: ἐνταῦθα μητ[ηρ Clem. Eus. δη might represent δῆ or δ' ἤ. Both fit the grammar. The latter is perhaps less likely, since this copyist would normally write an elision mark after δ(ε); there is a hole at the relevant place, but we might still expect to see some trace of the sign, if it had been written.

7 (15) ω[ε with Clem.: οὐδ Eus.

8 (17) ακ]ρα: so Eus.: ἄκρα Clem.

9 (17) βαθυ with Clem.: δασύ Eus. (perhaps an intrusive gloss on λάσιον).

9 (18) ἀφελήμων: ἀδελφ' ἡμῶν Clem. Eus. (damage prevents us from knowing whether 5348 had the elision mark or not). Editors emend to ἀδελφῆ μου.

11 (21) δ' with Eus.: μ' Clem. Only the leftmost part of the letter survives (ink at line-level), but the trace better suits the left-hand angle of δ than the simple first diagonal of μ.

12 (22) Αιβραϊον: Ι. Έβραϊον.

13-14 (24) ςοι τωθ[ε . . . | παιδι: σοι τῶν παιδῶν Clem., σοι τῶ παιδι Eus. Editors print Sylburg's παιδι τῶν(ε). The traces in the papyrus are minimal, except for τ (high horizontal) and specks from the sloping upright) and ω (perhaps parts of the first loop). After τωθ[ε there would be room for two or three more letters (the article τῶ?), but the scribe may have left the line short in order not to divide παιδι, in which case his reading coincided with that of Clem.

14 (25) ε]πρεπει[ε]ν: so Eus. (with minor variations in the MSS): ἔπεικε Clem.

15 (26-7) τ]αχ[υ] α]υ]τ[η]ρ: minimal traces of the dotted letters.

τε: γε conjectured by Stephanus, not confirmed by the papyrus.

16 (27) [παρ]ηθε[μ]ε: [παρ]ηθε[μ]ε wrongly repeated from the preceding verse. The scribe's eye slipped from και in this line to και in the line above. Thus και ελαβεν was written in full. The Clem. and Eus. MSS also have *scriptio plena*.

και ελαβεν μ ες (of μ the left-hand element protruding below line-level): και ελαβέ μ' ες Eus., και ελαβεν ες Clem.

18 (30) Μωυση]: so Clem. (Μωύσην), Μωυσην Eus. The longer spelling fills the space better.

18-19 (30) ω]ν]ομαζε του: or perhaps [ω]νο, and in either case ω might be ο. ὀνόμαζε τοῦ Clem. Eus. ION, ὀνόμαζε τοῦ Eus. B. ὀνόμαζ' ὄτου Cobet.

19 (31) ἀνεϊλε: (μ') ἀνεϊλε conjectured by K. Kuiper, 'De Ezechiele poeta Iudaeo', *Mnem.* 28 (1900) 237-80 at 244.

19 (31-2) After ἀν' ἡνόου the papyrus, like Clement, continues directly with verse 32. Eusebius has a prose note between verses 31 and 32 (present in ION, not in B), τούτοις μὲθ' ἑτερα ἐπιλέγει και περι τούτων ὁ Ἐζεκιηλος ἐν τῇ τραγωδίᾳ, τὸν Μωυσην παρεισάγων λέγοντα 'ἐπεὶ δὲ κτλ.', from which scholars have deduced that some verses have been omitted. See Jacobson (1983) 77.

20 (32) παρ]ηθε με: παρ]ηθέν με Clem. (but παρ]ηθε[ε] cannot be read here), παρ]ηθέ μοι Eus., equally possible as a supplement.

20 (33) η]γαγέ με: so Clem.: ἡγαγέ με Eus. ON: ἡγέ με Eus. I: ἡ γε με Eus. B, according to Miras (in fact O omits με). But the traces are minimal.

20-21 (33) βακ]ιλός. The copyist originally omitted ΙΔ after ΙΑ, then squeezed Ι in after Α, with Δ written directly above it.

22 (35) We supply θεου in full, but in fact Clem. and Eus. BO write θ̄υ.

24 (38) υπ[ε]ρχει]σ[θ]ο], *scriptio plena* as in Clem. Eus. ON. But the last trace is very unclear, and υπ[ε]ρχει]σ[θ]ο] (Eus. B1) may not be excluded.

25 (38) εων supplied from Eus.: ἐνα Clem.

25 (39) κόλπος with Clem. Eus. I: κόλπος Eus. BON. κύκλος conjectured by Kuiper (19 n.) 245, καιρός by B. A. Müller, *PbW* 54 (1934) 703, ὀλλός by C. U. Crimi, *SicGymn* 31 (1978) 511-15.

παρ|ην (of the dotted letters minimal traces) with Clem. Eus. ION: ἔην Eus. B, too short for the space here.

26-7 The surviving parts of these lines are blank. No doubt the first part of 26 was originally occupied with the completion of verse 40 up to βασιλικῶν (as in Clement). The blank corresponds to the bridging passage with which Clement replaces the stretch from verse 40 πρὸς ἔργα γὰρ το 30 λέγω: *Sitom.* 1.23.156 ἔπειτα τὴν διαμάχην τοῦ θ' Ἑβραίου καὶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου διεγηγάμενος καὶ τὴν ταφὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας μάχης φησὶν οὕτως. Eus. ION have the full text (B omits 40 πρὸς-55 ταχῶ).

28 (50) εθεν: εθε apparently corrected from something now illegible.

28 (51) c (probably with an elision-mark now lost or damaged) fits the space better than ce in full.

29 (52) [.] . [. . .] . μη. μη κτείνεις δέ με Clem., μη κτενείς κύ με Eus. The few traces surviving in 5348 give no clear lead.

30 (53-4) δε|ςας εγω is clear. This line was probably written by the original hand, though the ink is thicker, but at only half the normal line-space from 29: it seems that the scribe had to save space, in order to fit his text onto the sheet.

] [.] . μη|. After εγω we expect ἔλεξα 'πῶς ἐγένετο συμφανές τοδε;', The spacing and the minimal traces might allow δε|ςας εγω [πως εγ]εμετο [ε]μφ[ανες τοδε, but then we must assume that the copyist omitted ἔλεξα, by accident or as superfluous.

II. NEW LITERARY & SUBLITERARY TEXTS

5349. HEXAMETERS

101/105(c)

(a) 5 × 6.2 cm; (b) 8.6 × 11 cm

Second century
Plate IV

Two fragments of a roll give the top of a column, with an upper margin preserved to a depth of 3.9 cm and remains of ten hexameters. The fibres can be traced from (a) into (b), and a probable supplement in line 3 gives the distance between the fragments. The edge of a *kollesis* runs down 2.1 cm to the right of the left edge of (a).

The hand is an example of the 'Roman Uncial', similar to that of the Hawara Homer (*GMAW*² 13); cf. in general G. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro* (Pap. Flor. XXXVIII; 2005) 151–61. It is generously decorated, with some long left-pointing bar finials emphasizing the base line: note e.g. those on the second ρ of line 1 or the last τ of line 5. ϵ is often closed at the top, as e.g. in LXXVIII 5153 (Plutarch). For the dating of this type of hand, cf. most recently F. Acerbi and L. Del Corso, *APapyrol* 26 (2014) 59–63. There are no lection signs except diaeresis on an initial υ (6); elision is not marked (4). A short horizontal cancel stroke at mid-line level, perhaps due to the hand of the text, marks deletion (1). There is no evidence for the scribe's practice in respect of iota adscript, unless $\tau \epsilon\iota\omega$ stands for $-\epsilon\iota\omega\iota$.

The first line of the fragment refers to the darkening of fruit, and the last two lines contain nautical vocabulary, but most of the fragment (2–8) is concerned with astronomy: there are references to indications provided by the stars, the twelve signs of the zodiac, the circum-polar constellations and their circular motion, the ecliptic and its northern turning-point, and the central axis of the cosmos. One may imagine that the importance of the stars for seafarers accounts for the nautical vocabulary in the final lines, but there is no clear indication of such a connection in the text.

Nothing in the theme, language, or metre is incompatible with the assignment of the fragment to a Hellenistic author. It is not clear whether the rest of the poem was concerned with astronomy, but if it was, possible authors include Aratus (cf. *SH* 86–91), Hegesianax (*SH* 465–70), and Hermippus (*SH* 485–90).

A point of linguistic interest is the early appearance of the metaphorical use of $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\alpha$ with reference to a celestial point, a usage later taken up by Nonnus (7 n.). There are no metrical points of particular note. The spondaic line-end $\epsilon\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ (2) is paralleled in Aratus: see n.

I am very grateful to H. Bernsdorff, D. Colomo, C. Geißler, W. B. Henry, D. Obbink, P. J. Parsons, M. Perale, and H. Schmedt for their valuable comments.

(b)

	(a)	]ερ[ι]κα[...]	οπωρη
	]..[	]σημαινουσιν	
	]φραδεε...[	]αιδεκαπαντεσεοντες	
	]ορεαο...[	]διαφαινετιοντα	
5	]ταινοτιο...[	]τροφαλιγ[.]φορειται	
	]υπενερθ...[	]ελιοιοκελευ[.]οι	
	]..[.]ειωμ...[	]ερινησαπονυςρη	
	]λοςδι...[	]μεσοναξον[.]κο[.]μου	
	]λιμενε[	]λουσακαθορμον	
10	]αφλας[	]..εται...δυσινλακας	

2]..[a long horizontal stroke on the line, e.g. δ; rubbed remains on the line, e.g. the two lobes of ω 3 ...[rubbed traces, perhaps the left-hand arc of a round letter; specks 4].. specks ...[abraded traces, perhaps an upright with specks to the right 5 ...[specks].. a trace on a single fibre at letter-top level 6 ...[rubbed traces: perhaps the upper left-hand arc of a circle; perhaps the lower end of the oblique and the top of the second upright of ν 7].. ink on the line, perhaps a hook pointing to the left ...[rubbed traces, perhaps parts of the left-hand arc and cross-bar of ε; specks].. a high trace on the edge 8 ...[a gently ascending oblique with an oblique serif at its foot joining a descending oblique at mid-line level, with the surface lost or stripped below and to the right: perhaps χ rather than α or λ; on a single fibre, a speck at mid-line level 9 ρ, most of an oval letter 10].. the upper part of an upright with blank surface on either side at the top: η, ι, or ν].. a trace on a narrow projecting strip, perhaps the top of an oval letter; the hooked upper right-hand corner of ν or χ 11 ρ, tops only ... the top of an oval letter; on a narrow strip, perhaps part of the top of another oval letter ... the top of an oval letter

		π]ερκα[ζ...]	ὀπώρη
	]..[	]σημαίνουσιν	
	]φραδέες δυ[οκ]	αἰδεκα πάντες εὐόντες	
	]βορέαο...[	]διαφαίνεται' ἴοντα	
5	]ταινοτιο...[	ς]τροφάλιγ[γ]ε φορεῖται	
	]υπένερθε[	η]ελίοιο κέλευ[θ]οι	
	]..[.]ειωμ...[	]θερινῆς ἀπὸ νύκρη	
	]λος δι...[	]μέσον ἄξον[α] κό[ς]μου	
	]λιμένε[ς	]λουσα καθ' ὄρμον	
10	]αφλας[τ	]..εται ἐς δύσιν ὀλκάς	

'fruit darkens (or: darkened) ... (they) indicate ... all twelve being clearly observable ... north ... stand out, going ... southern ... moves in a whirl ... (from) beneath ... paths of the sun ... from the summer turning-post ... central axis of the cosmos ... harbours ... in anchorage ... stern-post ... to the setting (?) ... cargo ship'

1 π[ε]ρκα[ζ] ... ὀπάρη. A form of περκάζω should be restored. For this *iunctura*, the strongest argument in favour of a form of περκάζω, cf. Chaetrem. *TrGF* 71 F 12 ὀπώραν ... περκάζουσαν. π[ε]ρκά[ζ]ει and π[ε]ρκά[ζ]ω seem to be too short, but π[ε]ρκά[ζ]εν (-{ζέ τ'}, -{ζε δ'}) would fill the space. ὀπάρη could also mean 'late summer', the period from the end of July until the beginning of September, or in astronomical terms, the time between the rising of Sirius and the rising of Arcturus: cf. LSJ s.v. ὀπώρα.

2 σημαίνουσι. Cf. Arat. 12 σημαίνουσι, 757 σημαίνουσι, both at line-end. In those passages, the subject is ἀστέρες, but here it appears to be the twelve signs of the zodiac, cf. 3 n.

3 φραδέες. Perhaps ἀριφραδέες, cf. Man. 2.50-51 οἶδε μὲν ἐν πραπιδεσσιν ἀριφραδέες τελεθουσι | γνώσασθαι κύκλοι.

δυ[ο]καίδεκα πάντες εόντες probably refers to the twelve signs of the zodiac. δυοκαίδεκα is used of the signs of the zodiac at Arat. 455 (εἰδωλα) and 550 (cf. also Anub. F 12.2 Schubert (LXVI 4503 fr. 1 i 2) δυοκαίδεκα ζῳδία εἶεν), and with μοίραι at Arat. 740.

4 βορέας, βορέας can mean either 'north wind' or 'north'. βορέω at Arat. 319 is followed by νότιο καὶ ἡέλιοιο κελύθου at 321 (cf. 5-6 below); for βορέας and νότος mentioned in close proximity, cf. also Arat. 507-8 βορέας | ἐς νότον, Call. *Hec.* fr. 69.11-12 H. νότος ... βορέης (winds).

διαφαίνεται ἴοντα. Cf. Arat. 472 ἀλλὰ τὰ γε κνέφας διαφαίνετ' ὄξέα πάντα. Arat. 551 has ἴοντι, with τοῖς ... δυοκαίδεκα πᾶσιν in 550 and κύκλοι, comparable to 5 ε]τροφάλιγγι, in 552.

5 νοτιο ... |; probably 'southern', cf. e.g. Arat. 238, 490.

ε]τροφάλιγγι φορεῖται. Cf. Arat. 43 (with Martin's and Kidd's notes) μειοτέρη γὰρ πᾶσα περιετρεφεται ε]τροφάλιγγι, of the Lesser Bear. φορεῖται (meaning simply 'move') occurs in the same metrical position at Arat. 521 ἐν τῷ δ' Ὀφειώχεια γούνα φορεῖται.

6 ὑπένερθε. [Perhaps 'below' (i.e. 'to the south of') and to be connected with the content of the previous line.

ἠ]ελίοιο κελυθ[ο]ι. Cf. Arat. 149 ἐνθα μὲν ἡέλιοιο θερεῖται εἰς κελυθοῖ, 321 μεταξύ νότιο καὶ ἡέλιοιο κελυθοῖ, and A. R. 1.500 εληνραῖς τε καὶ ἡέλιοιο κελυθοῖ.

7 νύκτα may refer to the northernmost point of the ecliptic, cf. Nonn. *D.* 38.284. On this metaphorical use, cf. W. Peck, *Lexikon zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos* (1968-1975) s.v. νύκτα III, who refers to V. Siegemann, *Astrologie und Universalgeschichte* (1930) 30 n. 1.

8 μέσον ἄξον[α] κ[ό]μιου. ἄξων is first used of the axis of the cosmos (LSJ s.v. 1.3) in Arat. 22: cf. Kidd's note.

9 λιμέν[ε]ς or -ε[κ]κ(ν).

]λουκα may agree with ἄλλὰς in the next line. Another possibility is ἀντ[ε]λ[ο]υκα used of a star or constellation: cf. perhaps δούκ in the next line.

ἄρμον. ἄρμος can mean 'anchorage' (LSJ s.v. II.1; *LfgGE* s.v. ἄρμος II). Cf. λιμέν[ε]ς earlier in the line.

10 ἄφλακ[τ]. ἄφλακτον, 'carved stern-post', gives us another piece of nautical vocabulary. On this Homeric hapax, cf. *Il.* 15.717 with Janko's note; *LfgGE* s.v. There are three examples in A. R. (1.1089, 2.601, 3.543).

]...εται. Probably the end of a verb.

ξς δύνειν is used in the same metrical position at Theoc. 24.11 ἄμος δὲ στρέφεται μενούκτιον ἐς δύνειν Ἄρκτος, where δύνειν perhaps means 'west' rather than 'its setting': cf. Gow's note. For δύνειν of constellations, cf. Arat. 309, 627, 688, and 690.

ὀλκάς. Either nom. sg. ('cargo ship'), or the acc. pl. of ὀλκή ('drawing, dragging'), cf. 9 ὄρμον with π. ὀλκάς is a doubtful reading in Philolaus 44 B 12 DK, a fragment of questionable authenticity: cf. C. A. Huffman, *Philolaus of Croton* (1993) 392–5.

M. REINFELDER

5350. EARLY HEXAMETERS (ADDENDUM TO XXX 2513 + LIII 3698)

17 2B.53/F(b)

2.4 × 4.1 cm

Second century

Plate IV

The present fragment seems to belong to the same manuscript as XXX 2513 and LIII 3698. Its inventory number is close to that of the latter, 17 2B.53/F(a). The text is on the back, and the front is blank; 2513 and 3698 are copied on the back of a register that includes large blank areas. I have not noticed any clue to the subject-matter. The other two pieces are discussed in the introduction to LXXIX 5190, a copy of hexameters in a similar hand but not part of the same roll. The thick dot placed over the right-hand side of the first α in line 5, no doubt by a second hand, is the only lection sign. Elsewhere, short thick obliques added above the line are used as stops (cf. the note at the end of the commentary on 3698), and the dot at 5350 5 no doubt has the same function; the shortest of the punctuating obliques, at 2513 28, is quite similar in appearance. The edge of a sheet runs down the fragment on this side 0.6 cm from the right-hand edge.

	]λα.[		]λα.[
	]τωνο[		]τωνο[
	]αμη.ρ[		]αμη.ρ[
	]νοιεφ..[		]νοι εφ..[
§	]στα* ταγα[	§	]στα· τὰ γὰ[ρ
	]ντολυπ[		]ν τολυπ[ευ
	]παοcχρ[		]παοc χρ[
	]..υαc[		]..υαc[

1 [, abraded, perhaps the left-hand end of a high cross-bar (?)
 π or τ, abraded on the right

4 . . [, two low traces on the edge

two oval letters

3 . , the left-hand side of
 8] . , letter-tops: perhaps

§ τὰ γὰ[ρ following the feminine caesura, as at *Il.* 4.361, 7.34, *Od.* 19.504, 21.430.

6 τολυπ[ευ will follow the caesura (cf. § n.): e.g. τολυπ[είδομεν, τολυπ[εύεμεν. Elsewhere in early epic, the verb is found only at line-end except at *Il.* 24.7, where τολύπευce begins in the second foot. The object may be e.g. πόνo]ν or πόλεμο]ν.

7]παοc: e.g. δέ]παοc (*A. R.* 3.1036), κέ]παοc (*Arat.* 857, 1126).

W. B. HENRY

5351-3. ACTA ALEXANDRINORUM

These items add to a genre that we know only from papyri. For a collection of similar texts up to 1960, see H. Musurillo, *Acta Alexandrinorum* (Teubner, 1961), quoted as *AA*. For a catalogue of texts published since, and a general discussion, see A. Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt* (2008), and N. Vega Navarrete, *Die Acta Alexandrinorum im Lichte neuerer und neuester Papyrusfunde* (Pap. Colon. XL; 2017). For a recent overview of the genre and further bibliography, see D. Colomo in M. Edwards (ed.), *La rhétorique du pouvoir* (Entretiens Hardt LXII; 2016) 209–53.

5351. ACTA MAXIMI

41 5B.83/J(1-4)c

8.6 × 14.5 cm

Third century
Plate V

A ragged piece, broken at both edges and at the foot; the top margin survives to 1.9 cm. The writing runs across the fibres. On the other side (original recto?), and upside down in relation to this text, we find remains of a list with names in the genitive and numbers of *arourai*.

The hand is a good cursive of chancery type, assignable to the third century. No lectional signs, except diastole between double consonants (t); acute accent in 9 and perhaps 1 and 4, circumflex accent in 13. No punctuation, except perhaps a high stop in 5, but the copyist often leaves short blanks, of which most can be seen to mark clause-end.

The sensational rhetoric suggests a trial, and the proper names Heraeus and Maxi[ms] point to the *Acta Maximi* commonly printed among the 'Acts of the Pagan Martyrs'. For the two older sources see *AA* VIIA and VIIB. BKT IX 177 may now be added, see the discussion by P. Sarischouli, *APF* 55 (2009) 454–61. P. Mich. inv. 4800 refers to $\mu\alpha\kappa\iota$ [-], and Musurillo doubtfully assigned it to the same text (*AA* XXII), but see C. Rodríguez, *JJP* 39 (2009) 161–97. 5351 makes a second copy from Oxyrhynchus.

Detailed reconstruction of the content proves difficult. No line survives complete; the written width of the column, now c.9 cm, comes close to the normal limit for prose literary texts (Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 108), but of course this pseudo-document may have been formatted as a document. When we look for a connecting thread, we have to remember the conventions of these (actual or fictional) reports of proceedings: in summarising the rhetoric, the reporter may well leap from point to point. Heraeus and Maximus are involved, whether as speakers or as part of the narrative, which in turn might refer to the present conduct of the trial or to the past conduct of those involved. On the face of it, 3–7 refer to punitive action taken (by Maximus); Maximus replies 'I freed him, I did not kill him'. Maximus has been described as 'the tyrant of so great a [city]' (5), presumably Alexandria, and elements in what follows probably refer to the city's patron god Serapis.

This edition owes much to the contributions of Dr D. Colomo and Dr W. B. Henry:

] τ'τιος ρουφος καιουγ'κεινος . . [

] . . περιτουτουεφ[] ονησαν ακου[

] ηραιοςπροσταξεν . . ριαυτου ου . . . [

] γενεσθαι κληρω . αυρωπος . . [

5

] ωσσυ οττηςοσσυτητητυραννος [

] ρτι τουτο οσσυπειποιηκας μαξι[

] κληρω απελυσα ουκεφονευ[

] . . τικος κυνοκεφα . . σεγεν . . ομ[

] . . ετ . . μολόγω . . απολογου . . [

10

] . εγα . . [] του γλυκυτατ . . ν . ε[

] λογιας ü . . ερον ψο . . α . [

] . . εγον[. .] . . απολυθ . . να . . [

] . ω πολιετ' τρηκοικουμεν[

] οθεος[. .] ες . ν ο . [] [

15

] ν καιπ . . ων και . [

] ασπος[. .] . ωνι[. .] . . [

] . ρ[. .] λητου . θε[

] [. .] νπ ω[

] . . [. . . .] . . [

20

] . [. .] . [. .] . [

1], tip of horizontal at half-height . . [. upright joining top-piece which curves down to the right; descender reaching well below the line (together π?) 2], small upright trace at mid-level; another, lower down 3 ν . . upright; after a gap, horizontal ink at half-height 4 ε . . see comm. ω . . left-hand parts of oval; foot of upright curving to left 5], left-hand arc 8], horizontal at half-height; mid-part of upright, probably continued by ink above line, curving to left (i?) 9], on the edge, convex trace above the letter-tops, point below on the line τ . . lower part of narrow oval?; foot of upright ω . . see comm. 10], ink at line-level α . [] . . ink on edge level with letter-tops; two uprights, horizontal above (π?); lower left quadrant of oval τ . . distorted ink in upper part of writing space; upright bending leftwards at top, then ink level with letter-tops (together, υ?) ν . . left-hand side of oval 11], shallow right-hand curve ü . . left-hand arc; γ or right-hand part of τ ν . . top right of ν looped; then ink attached to cross-bar of following ψ (small ο?) ο . . first, wide curve at line-level (belly of μ?); third perhaps elements of oval α . . short oblique, rising left to right, level with letter-tops 12], εγγε[. .] . . see comm. θ . . top and foot of upright ε . . elements of small oval (ο?); on the edge, beginning of horizontal level with letter-tops 13], horizontal joining ω just below the top 14 ο . . lower part of upright?] [. . upper left quadrant of circle or oval 15 π . . see comm. ε . . upright on edge, short horizontal projecting leftwards at top 16], ink from left joining ω near its base 17], ink joining ρ at mid-height] . . ink rising from left to join λ at mid-height 18 see comm.

Μ]έττιος Ρουῖφος κα(ι) Ίουγκεῖνος . . . [

] . . . περὶ τούτου ἐφ[ρ]όνησαν ακου[

] "Ἡραιοσ προσέταξεν περὶ αὐτοῦ ου . . . [

] γενέσθαι κλήρωσ τζαυρῶ προσ . . . [

5] ως κὺ ὁ τῆσ τοσαύτης τύραννος . [

] στι τούτο ὁ κὺ πεποιήκασ Μαξι[μ

] κληρωσ ἀπέλυσσ οὐκ ἐφόνευσ[σ

] . . . τικός κυνοκέφαλος ἐγένετο μ[

] . . . ἔτομολόγωσ ἀπολογουμ[

10] . . . εγα . [. . . [του γλυκυτατ . . . ν . !

] ἀπ]ολογίας ὕστερον ὀψόμεθα . [

] . . . εγον[. . . [. . . ἀπολυθῆναι . . . [

] . ω πολιεῖ τῆσ οἰκουμην[

] θβρος[. . .] εσ . ν ο . [. . . [

15] γ καιπ . . . ων και [

] σπος[. . .] ωνι[. [

] . ρ[. . .] λητου . θε[

] . [. . .] νπ . . . ω[

] . . . [. . .] . . . [

20] . . . [

'... Mettius Rufus and Juncinus ... thought about this. [Having heard this?] Hereus gave orders about ... (s) ... you, the tyrant of so great [a city?] ... this that you have done [is shameful?] ... Maximus ... I released [him], I did not kill [him] ... he became a dog-head ... defending [himself] with ready speeches ... (11) [As to his] defence we shall see later on ...'

The original line-length remains uncertain. Plausible supplements in 6-7 and 13-14 would suggest c.40 letters per line. It is possible that 3-7 preserve the original line-beginnings, in which case there might be room for only one more letter before 1 Μ]έττιος.

1 Μ]έττιος Ρουῖφος: Prefect of Egypt 89-91/2.

κα(ι) Ίουγκεῖνος: substantial blanks before and after this word-group. The scribe writes simply *καίουγκεινος*, presumably a graphic or phonetic mistake, since I cannot parallel a Latin name *Uncinus*, complicated by the apparent acute accent on *ει*. But who is this Iuncinus, and how does he relate to Mettius Rufus? It might be that he held office at the same time, in that case a lesser office. It might be that he came later than Rufus, in some office which allowed him to rule on the matter. On the normal assumption that the Maximus on trial is the Prefect of 103-7, we have a terminus ante quem, which excludes (1) the Prefect L. Baebius Aurelius Iuncinus, who held office in 212/13, and (2) the official (*iuridicus*?) Flavius Iuncinus, who settled a law case in P. Tebt. II 286.10 (M. Chr. 83), citing a rescript of Hadrian dated 14.xi.131. Perhaps we should think of L. Baebius L. f. Gal. Iuncinus, whose cursus appears in CIL X

6976 (ILS 1434; I. Bitto. *Le iscrizioni greche e latine di Messina*, 2001, pp. 147–9): *praef. fabr. praef. coh. IIII Raetorum trib. milit. leg. XXII Driotarianae praef. alae Astyrum praef. vehiculorum iuridicus Aegypti* (PIR² B 0018). Scholars used to assign him to the early second century, assuming that his penultimate post, the *praefectura vehiculorum*, was not created until then. We now know that it existed already under Vespasian (AE 1973 p. 143 no. 485, 1974 p. 153 no. 583; A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im römischen Reich* (2000) 162). That allows us to assume that Iuncinus' term as *iuridicus* overlapped the prefecture of Mettius Rufus, or followed shortly after: the list of *iuridici* by N. Kruit and K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 92–6, shows no other candidate securely dated to the period between Gaius Umbrinus in AD 87 (see P. Gen. I² 4.1 n.) and [Flavius] Iuncus c.120 (see W. Eck, *AClass* 42 (1999) 72). Another Baebius Iuncinus, also a military tribune, appears in the consilium of the Prefect in AD 63 (P. Fouad 21.7). W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (1979) 90, revives the suggestion that the tribune and the *iuridicus* were the same person. The new evidence does not exclude this, though it would imply quite extended terms of office in between.

1–2 . . . : upright with horizontal extending rightwards at the top, then long descender: γη[? E.g. γη[άψαντες ὄτι ταύτῃ] περι τοῦτου κτλ.

2 εἰς[ρ]όησαι. The short blank following suggests punctuation. The subject, presumably, is the two officials named in 1. For a possible sense see I. Prose 57 B.36–7 (OGIS 669; commentary in G. Chalon. *L'Édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander* (1964)) εἰς δὲ καὶ δύο ἑπαρχοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πεφρονηκότες ὄντι, καὶ κολακτεῖος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐγλογιστής ὁ τὰ αὐτὰ εἰς διαλογικῶν ἄγων.

2–3 Minimum restoration ἀκού[σας δὲ (ταῦτα) ὁ] Ἡραῖος. This takes Ἡραῖος as subject of προσέταξεν, and we have to decide whether his 'order' forms part of the trial or part of events being narrated at the trial. Alternatively Ἡραῖος might be the name of the speaker, and προσέταξεν (sc. Maximus?) begin his utterance. Against this: there is no punctuation space after Ἡραῖος. In favour: 5–6 clearly do belong to a speech, and one directed at Maximus.

3 Ἡραῖος: the cross-bar of eta projects leftwards, perhaps to link with a letter before, more likely as a flourish on the first letter of the line. Dr Colomo recognized Ἡραῖος as appearing in *Acta Maximi* B 38 and 48 and (perhaps the same person) in *Acta Athenodori* 58. At B 38 he is the speaker, and describes himself, if the supplement is correct, as speaking to oppose (ἐναντίως) and refute (ἐλεγξτε) his adversaries. He appears in company with a gymnasiarch, and it seems likely that he forms part of an Alexandrian delegation in the case against Maximus.

ου . . . : there seems to be too much ink for οὐκε[] or οὐβε[]. οὐκε[] might be read (not οὐκαρ-, οὐκρεμ-). A personal name Οὐκέριος occurs in inscriptions.

4 κλήρω. Before κ, a narrow loop, then a hole, then ink joining κ at two-thirds height. I had tried ἀκλήρω, but the loop lies improbably low in the line, and the word itself is unexpected. WBH suggests οὐ κλήρω (perhaps 'by [some other means], not by lot'), then in 7 κλήρω ἀπελυσα.

σταυρω DC. Roman governors could use crucifixion for a variety of offences, see M. Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World* (1977). It is rarely mentioned in documents, and nowhere in the other *Acta*, unless XXII 2339 belongs (see Harker 80–81). Philo lists it as the last and worst of the tortures inflicted on the Alexandrian Jews under the prefect Avillius Flaccus: ἀπήγοντο, ἐμαστιγοῦντο, ἐτροχιζόντο, καὶ μετὰ πάσας τὰς αἰκίας, ὅσας ἔδυνάτο χωρηθῆναι τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς, ἡ τελευταία καὶ αἰφρόδος τιμωρία σταυρὸς ἦν (*Flacc.* 72, cf. 84 (vi 133.10–12, 135.13–14 CR)).

προς . . . : second perhaps a cursive π, joined from the left by a horizontal at two-thirds height. An oblique trace above the line, apparently an acute accent, points to a vowel, e.g. προσέπ[η]ξέ(ν) or προσέπ[η]ξέος, a standard verb for fixing the victim to the cross. But it seems from 7 and 12 that the sentence was not carried out.

5 Possibly πόλε]ωε. After it, a short blank. If this serves as a comma, we might expect e.g. πόλεωε to follow later in the lacuna, but the substantial blank after τύραννος may in turn suggest sentence-end. τύραννος applies elsewhere in the Acta to the Emperor (Commodus?), *Acta Appiani* B ii 5, 12–13. Dr Colomo notes recent discussions of the concept by N. Vega Navarrete, 'Acta Appiani: Gerüchte über den kaiserlichen Hof in Alexandria', *Pap. Congr. XXVII* (2016) 301–11, esp. 311 with n. 21; C. Rodríguez, 'Le cri d'une victime de la tyrannie: la théâtralisation des débats dans les Acta Appiani', *ibid.* 279–300, esp. 283 n. 13; 292–3, 295–300.

6]ετι: e.g. τί ἐ]ετι (question), οὐ φυγεῖν ἐ]ετι (Cass. Dio 46.11.3 φυγεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐτι τοῦτο ὁ δὲ ποιοῖσκα), ἀδικὸν ἐ]ετι.

Space represents punctuation? Μάξι[μος might be part of the narrative, or the name of the speaker: the first person verbs in 7 suggest the latter. Note however that in the other fragments of the Acta Maximi he does not appear as a speaker in the trial. Here too it is possible that he and his words are being quoted by the rhetor, not uttered live: e.g. Μάξι[με, πῶς εἴπας '...'. If Maximus appears as a speaker-name, we must allow for another speaker-name ('Ἡραῖος;') before any reply.

7 κλήρω? Cf. 4 note.

8]...τικός: perhaps]ετικός, e.g. πολιτικός? Dem. 18.242 (of Aeschines) αὐτοτραγικὸς πῖθος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος.

κυνοκέφαλος might mean 'baboon' as an animal, or a Doghead, one of the barbarian tribe which plays its part in ethnographic myth from Hesiod (fr. 153 MW) and Herodotus (4.191) onwards; or, more remotely, the god Thoth (baboon-shaped) or the god Anubis (dog-headed). In this general context we might expect an insult. Compare Artem. *Somn.* 2.12 (124.14–15 Pack) πῖθος δὲ ἄνδρα πανούργον καὶ γόητα σημαίνει. κυνοκέφαλος τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ πθήκῳ σημαίνει; Suda κ 2714 (III 214.24–5 A.) κυνοκέφαλος ὁ Κλέων ἐαυτὸν οὕτω καλεῖ (*Ant. Ep.* 416), ἀντὶ τοῦ δεινὸν καὶ ἀναίσχυντον. Baboons were seen as wild, untamable and lecherous (Agatharch. *Mar. Erythr.* 74 (GGM i 169), *Acl. NA* 7.19): 'man' (ἄνθρωπος) is the measure of all things, not the pig or the baboon (Pl. *Tim.* 161C). In this particular context, between Maximus' brief retort in 7 and the reference to 'ready speakers' in 9, we could think of a special characteristic of the Dogheads: they communicate only in grunts (Simias fr. 1.12–13 (*CA* p. 109), D. S. 3.35.5, *Acl. NA* 4.46, Agatharch. l.c.).

ἐγένετο μί: Μ[άξιμος is one possibility, but more probably as subject than as speaker-name, since there is no wide blank, as in 6, before the mu.

9 ἐτομολόγως: the accent seems clear, though rather far to the left: designed to distinguish the adjective from the corresponding verb (though that is not actually attested)? After ω, apparently a corrected letter, then a blank. The altered letter might be c, as Dr Henry suggests, with a deletion stroke designed to convert the adverb into the dative. ἀπολογουμ[ένω refers to Maximus' ἀπολογία, see 11.

10]...εγα. []...]...[...: e.g.]...ε γὰρ or]...μέγας (WBH), then []...τοῦ γλυκύντου Νεϋλου. D. S. 1.40.4 Νεῖλον ... γλυκύντου ... πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν. The Nile naturally figures in Dio Chrysostom's eulogy of Alexandria, *Or.* 32.36 τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς φύσεως {καὶ} παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπαντα λάγου μείζον, τό τε θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀφέλιμον. Note however that in letters and epigraphs γλυκύντος normally applies to people.

11 ὕστερον: the second upright of nu is curiously looped, as if a narrow omicron overlapped it; that ink might supply the first omicron of ὀφόμεθα, but there are also heavy traces at the left end of the cross-bar of psi. For the phrase, cf. Gal. *Cur. Rat. Ven. Sect.* 9 (xi 280.14–15 K.) περι μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐν τούτοις διαφορᾶς ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὀφόμεθα; *Hipp. Off. Med.* 2.7 (xviii B 739.17 K.); Phryn. *Ecl.* 194 (79.85 Fischer). Supply e.g. περι δὲ τῆς ἀπολογίας.

12]...εχω[]...: e.g. λέγον[]ε[] WBH.

12-13 ἀπολοθῆναι οὐ [Μαξίμου ἀλλὰ | Σεράπιδι θεῶν πολιεῖ? But we must then make room for a verb like εὐχαριστεῖν in what follows, cf. BGU II 423.6 εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι ...

13] , ω πολιεῖ: the initial trace is a horizontal, joining the omega near its top; πολιεῖ with space before and after and an apparent circumflex accent by the same hand. The spacing suggests taking πολιεῖ as one word (i.e. not πόλι, εἰ). Literary sources have Διὶ πολιεῖσι or τῷ πολιεῖ Διῖ; inscriptional dedications normally Διὶ πολιεῖ, but I. Lindos 252.4-5 (c.115 BC) ταῖς Διὶ ταῖς πολιεῖ. In Egypt, Sarapis replaces (and is) Zeus; see LXXVII 5113 ζ τῷ πολιεῖ Σεράπιδι and the inscriptional dedications cited in the note there. Here we could restore Σεράπιδι τῷ πολιεῖ or indeed Σεράπιδι μεγα[ί]τῳ πολιεῖ, cf. I. Th. Sy. 195.1-2 (Kom Ombo, first half of III AD) θεῶν μεγαίτῳ π[ο]λιεῖ Σεράπιδι. But the initial trace would also allow θ[ε]ῶ πολιεῖ.

τῆς οἰκουμένης? Elsewhere in the *Acta* the word refers to the world-wide disturbances caused by the Jews (*Acta Ildorfi* IVC.23, cf. P. Jews (= CP) II 153) 98-100). But here we see no antisemitic context. It often appears in encomia of Alexandria as the capital of the world: so the anonymous rhetor P. Berol. 13045.29-30 (BKT VII p. 17) τῆς γὰρ οἰκουμένης Ἀλ[ε]ξάνδρεια πόλις ἐστίν. Cf. Ael. Arist. Or. 26.61 (ii 108.13-15 Keil) ὅσπερ δὲ πόλις τοῖς αὐτῆς ὀρίοις καὶ χώραις ἐστίν, τοῦθ' ἦδε ἡ πόλις τῆς πάσης οἰκουμένης, ὡσπερ αὐτῆς ἀετι κοινὸν ἀποδεδειγμένη, Jo. Chr. *Hom. Oz.* 4.1 (140.40 Dumortier) μεγάλη πόλις καὶ μητρόπολις τῆς οἰκουμένης. Men. Rhet. p. 382.29 Sp. πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ πόλις, *Historia Alexandri Magni* a 1.34.9 (i 39.3-4 Kroll) Ἀλεξάνδρεια ... μητρόπολις οὖσαν τῆς οἰκουμένης. Here too the orator may say that the great city misgoverned by Maximus (Alexandria) is famous for its tutelary deity and its leading place in the world. Alternatively, he may continue the description of Sarapis as god of the city and of the [whole] world, cf. e.g. Ael. Arist. Or. 45.23 (ii 359.5-6 Keil) κοινὸν ἀπάσης ὄντα τῆς γῆς (of Sarapis). In that case supply e.g. τῆς οἰκουμένης γὰρ πάσης κύριος ὁ θεὸς οἱ τῆς οἰκουμένης (πάσης) δεσπότης (κυριεύοντι), and then in the next line e.g. ὁ θεὸς [γὰρ] ἐστὶν ἀφ[ι]το;

14] ὁ θεός: probably ὁ θεός, DC. An encomium of Sarapis continues?

15 καιπ . . . ων και | : perhaps καὶ πλουτων (WBH) καὶ π[ρ]. πλουτων, πλούτων (Serapis as creator of individual wealth, cf. 18), Πλούτων (with whom Serapis was identified, *Plu. Mor.* 361E etc.).

16 e.g. μάρτυρα Ποσειδωνίου, then possibly καί. No Poseidonios appears elsewhere in the *Acta*.

17 Perhaps παρακλητόους, then e.g. Θέ[ω]να. In judicial contexts the word may mean 'advocate' or more often 'person called in as support by a party in a trial' (see BDAG s.v.). Probably the latter at XXXIV 2725 10, the only example in the documentary papyri. A separate group? But since μάρτυρα παρακαλεῖν is normal terminology, it might describe witnesses if they were mentioned in the line before.

18 Scanty traces, but possibly]ων πλουσιω], cf. A VI 79 (the rich boy).

P. J. PARSONS

5352-3. ACTA TITIANI

These two items, in different hands and formats, are linked by the name Titianus. In the first, the name occurs twice, in broken contexts; the part of the text that is consecutively legible contains a very rhetorical attack on a *paidotribes* (trainer at the Gymnasium) as little better than a pimp. In the second, Titianus appears as defendant in a trial, on charges apparently of raiding public funds and, in summary, of acting like a king and a tyrant. I argue below that this second Titianus should be identified as the Prefect of Egypt AD 126-33 and as one of the friends of Hadrian whom the Emperor rejected in later life (SHAHad. 15.6). It will be economical to recognise the same Titianus, and the same trial, in 5352; since 5353 clearly minutes the end of

the proceedings, 5352 must represent an earlier stage. From the parallel of the *Acta Maximi*, we can imagine a trial of various charges: in 5352, the ex-prefect is accused of meddling immorally in the administration of the Gymnasium (of Alexandria), in 5353 of peculation and perhaps of treason.

5352. ACTA TITIANI A

73/4(a)

fr. 1 9.7 × 19.6 cm

Second century
Plate VI

Remains of at least three columns of at least 40 lines; upper and lower margins preserved to c. 2 cm; intercolumnium c. 2 cm. Complete lines in fr. 1 have 24-8 letters. The writing runs with the fibres; the back is blank.

The copyist writes a small informal script, with occasional ligatures (ει, τα), vaguely bilinear except when ε ρ φ break the base-line. Notable letter-forms: β sometimes with flat base added separately, ε with the upper loop often closed, η in the form 'h'. This style looks typically second-century: compare e.g. *GLH 14b*, the second hand of V 841 (Pindar, *Paeans*). Dr Rea, in cataloguing this piece, wondered whether the hand might be the same that copied III 471, *Acta Maximi* (AA VIIA). Certainly there is a generic likeness, though the script of 471 is much larger; and some variation of letter-forms is only to be expected in such informal writing. Even so, 5352 has enough distinctive features (the η, the splayed μ, the tall cursive ξ, the ligatured ει reaching well below the line) to make an identification doubtful.

Punctuation by high stops placed above the line, perhaps by the original hand; they are particularly notable in fr. 1.7-11, where they set off each volley in a salvo of invective. Diaeresis marks initial iota and epsilon; otherwise very few lectional signs (fr. 1.20 acute accent?, 27 smooth breathing and accent). Deletion by superscript dot, fr. 1.8 and 28; it was perhaps the first hand that added an omitted syllable above the line at fr. 1.9 and corrected an itacistic spelling in fr. 1.10. Space-fillers in the form of a flying arrow fr. 2 i 19 and fr. 6. *Scriptio plena* seems to be the norm (fr. 1.2, 24, 31, 38, fr. 2 i 6, 25); unmarked elision fr. 2 i 21 (τοιντετω, which probably counts as one word). Iota adscript is nowhere written, omitted in fr. 1.18 τω δημοσιω, 33 -αγαγης and 38 κεινω.

The upper part of fr. 1 (1-11) offers a highly rhetorical attack on some person who appears as an athletic trainer (παιδοτριβης) but is in fact no more than a procurer of male flesh. In 11, and again in 37, it is possible to recognise the name Titianus. Given the accusatory context, I suggest that this piece derives from the trial of Titianus, Prefect of Egypt, of which 5353 (a different manuscript) contains the conclusion. The immediate topic, perhaps, was the appointment of a coach in the Gymnasium (of Alexandria), whose character as pimp somehow fitted Titianus' own dissipated life-style (fr. 1), and the admission and exclusion of youths (from the Gymnasium) (fr. 1 and 2 i). Compare the *Acta Maximi*, where the charges include immoral association with an epebe (AA VIIA 50ff.), interference in the appointment of gymnasiarchs (ib. 28ff.) and in the training of young athletes (VII B 57-61).

As usual, I am greatly indebted to Dr D. Colomo and Dr W. B. Henry for corrections and suggestions.

Fr. 1

τὸρ?
]ομ[] νος . . . ε . φ . []
]α , ω , ουδε , ωσπαιδ . []
]να , τισαποδειξαιτο
] . [.] ανθρωπονειναι
 5] . . . εργουδιδασκα
] , στροποςμαλλονκαι
] παιδωντρυφερων
] στατησαπαλοτητοςκαιευκ
] αρκι , εμιουρ , ος ανδραποδωνω
 10 ρα[] ω , αλιπτης , αιςχρωνιδας
] καλο . [. .] ν . ουπ . . . τηςτιτ , α
] νουτ . . . ερας[] . [. .] κα , α . . . ς
] . [.] α . [.] [.] [.] αιτηρα .
] . [.] . . . ω , ευεν
 15] τι . [. .] [.] [.] , πρωτονα[]
] ολ . . . [. .] νηστημιηστ[]
] ηξι , μ[. .] νε , ημετερα[]
] . . . νεντωδημοσιω[]
] κε . . . αλλα[] , ικ . α . []
 20] . . .] κα , ι . . . μου[]
] ο . . . αριστοιςκατα[]
] . . . κισ . . . σινοςοικαιτη[]
] . . .] την , ληνηταυ[]
] . . . κεινοενθυμ . []
 25] . . .] νχωρα . [] []
] . . .] ει , ν οασελ . . . []
] . . .] νβανειλω , χενο . []
] . . .] ενησπερυ νοιτο[]
] . . .] ευσικατακλειεσθ . []
 30] αυτοικεκεινοναν , ης . []
] . . .] αξιονγεαχθεσθη[]
] . . .] νενκειμηκε[]
] . . .] αστουτουςεισαγαγη[]
] βαλ , καιαντεξεταςωτο . []
 35] γεν . . .] εκβληθενεκ[]
] ουπροστονπαιδοτριβ . []
] θεουκαλλας . [.] αν . []
] ς . [. .]] αεκεινωτη[. .]] ωρε . []
] ε[]] . . . []
 40] . []

Fr. 1

1] ν , horizontal trace touching top left angle of ν ϵ , perhaps $\delta\epsilon$ WBH, the first two letters visible on an early photograph (from which details are supplied in pl. VI), but no longer on the original ϕ , short upright 2 a , upright and right-hand top of γ or τ ω , point at line-level, then point high up (stop?) ϵ , left-hand arc of oval; lower elements of λ (or κ ?) 3 a , ink in upper line-space, sloping down sharply from left to right 4] λ , horizontal at top-level 5] \dots , see comm. 6] λ , ink (foot of descending oblique?) at line-level 9 a , shallow curve or oblique at line-level 1 \dots , top of triangular letter ρ , point at line-level 10 ω , point at mid-level, then top of upright 11 o , [upper left quadrant of circle] λ , point at line-level π , \dots , third, ink at mid-height and, above it, upper part of diagonal descending from left to right (together suggesting α); fourth, upper part of upright; fifth, foot of upright below line-level τ , top of upright? 12 τ , \dots , second, triangular outline: third, parts of diagonal rising from left to right; fourth, left-hand arc of oval: a , horizontal ink at mid-height, upright or oblique descending from its mid-point a , \dots , point at mid-height; hooked top as of ϵ ; foot of upright on line, horizontal to right at top-level; oblique descending from left to right (a ?) 13] λ , [point (top of upright?) at upper level a , ink at line-level] λ , (first), top of oblique sloping down from left to right] λ , foot of oblique sloping up to right g , lower part of η ? a , oblique trace at two-thirds height, descending from left to right; another, ascending from left to right 14] \dots , uncertain traces] \dots , oblique descending from left to right, knot at foot (ν ?); right-hand elements of ϵ ?; elements of oval (θ ?); tip of diagonal descending from left to right] \dots , right-hand elements of ϵ ?; triangular top; flattened oval at upper level (upper part of ϵ ?); upright with oblique crossing at top (ν ?); trace of horizontal at top level, point on line below; parts of upright, horizontal joining from right at mid-level? ω , oblique descending from left to right 15] λ , [top arc of oval (ϵ ?)] λ , [right-hand side of η ?] λ , [high horizontal (τ ?)] λ , second, tip of oblique rising from left to right above the letter tops 16 λ , \dots , diagonal ink at mid-level rising sharply from left to right; lower arc of oval; point level with letter-tops; top left corner of ν ?; trace in upper part of writing space 17 λ , lower left-hand arc of oval] λ , perhaps upper and lower tips of ϵ ϵ , \dots , first, upright to two-thirds height, short horizontal projecting leftwards at the top 18] λ , part of upright, horizontal joining from right at mid-height; right-hand part of η ? 19 ϵ , top of oblique sloping down from left to right a , small trace at mid-height, sloping down from left to right; top of upright; isolated ink level with letter tops (together ν and high stop?) λ , short oblique trace in upper part of writing space κ , point at mid-height; high horizontal, join with upright or oblique below near left-hand end] λ , upright, messy ink at the top; point at mid-level, oblique descending from left to right ($\rho\theta$?) 20] \dots , disordered fibres a , perhaps foot of upright 21 o , high horizontal joining o \dots , top of upright; lower left arc of oval; lower left-hand arc of circle, convex traces above (ϵ ?); convex ink in upper part of writing space; foot of oblique rising from left to right?; remains of triangular form; abraded surface; upright 22 \dots , minimal traces 23] λ , first, ink suiting left-hand and lower right-hand extremities of χ ν , \dots , third, upright reaching well below the line; fourth, ink at mid-height, then upper part of upright sloping gently to the left 24 μ , [left-hand arc of circle 25] \dots , scattered ink; last, right-hand arc of circle a , [] λ , upright, diagonal crossing upper tip (ν ?); top and lower left of small χ ? 26 ν , first, short upright, long horizontal to right at top] λ , upright, horizontal extending rightwards from top and joining upper part of upright or gentle curve on edge 27] \dots , scattered ink ω , short horizontal at top level above hole] λ , top of upright 28 γ , ink attached to right-hand extremity of γ , then end of horizontal at mid-height, touching ν 29] \dots , small curved trace at line-level; point (foot of upright?) below the line θ , [foot and top of oblique sloping up to the right 30 ν , \dots

ink at line-level; point at line-level, then upright . [, ink on edge at one-third height 31
 first, point (end of horizontal?) level with letter-tops; second, loop of ρ or top of β ?; last perhaps upright,
 horizontal or flattened oblique joining from the left at mid-height 32] traces (second perhaps
 a) visible on an early photograph (from which details are supplied in pl. VI), but no longer on the original
 (WBH) 34 λ , see comm. . [, tip of oblique descending to the right 35 ν upper arc
 of oval; another such; foot of upright below hole; lower part of ϵ ? [, left-hand end of horizontal level
 with the letter-tops 36 [, point at line-level and another above it at mid-height 37 $\rho\omega$. . [,
 upright with short horizontal projecting leftwards from top; upright ν [, two points on the edge, one
 at line-level, the other level with the letter-tops 38 ϵ . . (triangular top) , horizontal from the
 left, joining just above the loop of α] . . , oblique sloping down from left to right [, point on edge,
 about mid-height 39] [, second, upper part of ω ; third, top of two diagonals sloping down
 to the right; fourth, upper half of round letter, probably \circ ($\omega\mu\phi$?) WBH 40 [, high horizontal

Fr. 2

Col. i

2] . . , first, right-hand part of small loop at upper level (ρ rather than ξ) 3] . . , second, top of oblique sloping down to right? Above the space between this and τ following, a dot 5] . . , part of upright in upper part of writing space κ , for the shape see fr. 2 ii 13 6] . . , ink at mid-height 8] τ , above the top left corner, on the edge, ink in the interlinear space 10] . . , point at line-level, then perhaps end of horizontal at mid-height touching η 11] . . , upright, horizontal sloping down slightly from top 12 τ . . . , upright, connected to preceding τ by a short oblique; ink level with letter-tops; top part of oblique sloping down to right 13 $\kappa\epsilon$ written almost as a monogram 15] . . , oblique sloping down gently from left to right 17] . . , oblique sloping down from left to right in upper part of writing space, foot perhaps joins upright reaching below the line 18] . . , ink joining left extremity of τ 19] . . , second perhaps lower part of η α [. . , perhaps foot of oblique rising to the right] . . , upright, possible trace of ligature at top left; point and then short oblique descending from left to right, both above the line 20] . . . , foot of upright, then another hooked to the left, both apparently below the line; third, upper left-hand quadrant and below it a point at line-level] . . . , lower arc of oval, horizontal projecting to right at half-height; foot of oblique sloping upwards to the right; oblique sloping down from left to right 21 ν . . , point at half-height, then upright ν . . , ink at mid-height 22] . . , point on edge, level with letter-tops 23] . . , lower right-hand quadrant of circle ι . . , horizontal ink at two-thirds height 25 ω . . , point just below letter-tops 26] . . , upright [. . , ink at line level, then upper part of upright] [. . , horizontal ink level with letter-tops] . . , foot of diagonal descending from the left? 27 ϵ . . , ink at two-thirds height (tip of oblique descending to right?); uncertain ink on twisted fibres 28] . . , end of horizontal on the edge? 29] . . , high ink joining τ and, below this, foot hooked to the right (ϵ') No further line-ends visible

Col. ii

1 [. . , left-hand end of horizontal 2 [. . , lower left-hand quadrant of circle (θ , ω) 3 [. . , left-hand arc of oval 5 [. . , left-hand end of horizontal, level with letter-tops 6 [. . , point level with letter-tops 7 [. . , ink at line-level 8 [. . , lower curve of oval 12 [. . , left-hand arc of oval 13 [. . , ink at line-level 15 $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$, then blank space $\epsilon.2$ letters wide (stripped)

Fr. 3

. . .
] . η [. .
] $\alpha\xi\epsilon\iota$ $\tau\alpha\epsilon\zeta$ [. .
] . $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\iota$. [. .
] $\mu\iota\delta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. ζ [. .
 3] $\alpha\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ [. .
] $\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota$ [. .
] . [. .

Fr. 4

. . .
] . $\mu\epsilon\nu$ [. .
] $\delta\epsilon\pi\alpha$ [. .

Fr. 5

. . .
] . [. .
] $\omicron\iota\tilde{\iota}\epsilon$. [. .
] $\epsilon\tau\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha$ [. .
] . $\tau\alpha\epsilon\pi\omicron$ [. .
 5] $\zeta\eta\zeta\epsilon\mu$ [. .
] ζ $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ [. .
] . $\eta\tau$. [. .
] . . [. .

Fr. 3 Blank to the left of ξ suggests that these are line-beginnings 1], foot of upright 2 ϵ followed by substantial space, part lacuna or abraded 3], tips of upper and lower diagonal, as of κ or χ], lower left-hand quadrant of circle 4 ϵ], ink at line-level, dot above and another further to right, level with letter-tops 5 . . .], club-headed upright ligatured to a (μ ?); upright, convex cross-piece joining at the top (π ?); right-hand arc of oval; short oblique in upper part of writing space (ν ?) 6 ϵ], space before this and longer space after (extended letter space? or line-end?)

Fr. 4 Lower margin of 0.6 cm 1], upright, possibly joined at mid-height by stroke from left

Fr. 5 2], descender reaching well below the line 3 ϵ (not ϵ) WBH 4], top of oblique rising from left to right? 6 ξ], oblique (or left-hand side of oval?) sloping down from right to left in upper part of writing space, then point on the line 7], oblique sloping down from left to right], upper left quadrant of small circle

Fr. 6

1]
] $\epsilon\pi\iota$
] $\omega\nu$
] ϵ
] $\nu\nu$
 5] $\epsilon\omega$

Fr. 7

1] $\epsilon\pi\iota$]
] . . .]
] $\omega\nu$]
] ν]
 5] ν]
] $\nu\alpha\lambda$. . .]
] $\pi\omega\iota\sigma\zeta$]

Fr. 8

1]
]]
] $\omega\rho\sigma$]
]]

Fr. 6

Right-hand margin of 1.3 cm 1 First or second line of column 3], foot of upright hooked to the right

Fr. 7

Perhaps upper margin; surface largely abraded 6], upright on the edge δ . . . last perhaps α

Fr. 9

1]
] $\nu\tau\sigma$]
]]

Fr. 10

1] $\kappa\alpha\iota$]
] $\tau\sigma\upsilon\tau$]
] $\delta\epsilon$]
] $\alpha\iota$]
 5] . . .]]

Fr. 11

1]
] $\tau\sigma\tau\omega$]
] $\iota\epsilon$. . .]

Fr. 1

'... one would simply not designate ... as trainer of boys or teacher of a [reputable] activity. Rather [was he] a pimp and procurer of pampered boys—supervisor of softness and artisan of fleshiness—masseur of ripe slaves—tutor in dirty deeds ... (31ff.) It is worth getting angry and [resentful] in case [excluding them you?] ... bring in these [others?] ... I will examine (them?) ... not in relation to the trainer ... but in relation to Titianus ...'

2 | α . ω : |αχων or |ατω, then probably high stop. οὐδὲ ὅλων 'not at all', 'not in the first place', 'absolutely not'.

2-3 παιδο|τριβην (cf. 36), then e.g. αὐτόν? On *paidotribes*, see J. Jüthner in RE. XVIII.2 (1942) 2389-96. He found only one reference in the documentary papyri, P. Hal. 1.260-65, where *paidotribai* and teachers are exempted from the Salt Tax. We now have more, but only from the Ptolemaic period, see P. Coitt. II pp. 133-5. Galen, *Puer. Epil.* 3 (xi 362.4-8 K.), notes the difficulty of finding an intelligent trainer: ἔστι δὲ οὐ πάντι βραδίων εὑρεθῆναι τοιοῦτον ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῆς ἐκλογῆς γινομένης ἀπαιδύτων τοῦπιπαι και οὕτως οὐκὼδὼν τε και παχείων τῆν ψυχῆν ὡσπερ και τὸ σῶμα.

3 ἂν τις ἀποδείξειτο: ἀποδείξει το(-) or ἀποδείξειτο? The standard phrase has the active form of the verb, ἂν τις ἀποδείξει(ν) Isoc. *Nic.* 17 and often, ἂν τις ἀποδείξει twice in Cyril of Alexandria. In these examples the sense is 'demonstrate' that something is something, often followed by *οὕτως* or accusative + infinitive: so here the verb may govern *ελθαι*. An alternative meaning, 'designate' someone to hold an office, would suit the context but not the whole phrase, if we take that as a fixed formula. But what to do with το? If -ξαιτο, we could continue e.g. τὸν οὕτως ἀπάνθρωπον.

4 | . | . |ανθρωπων. In itself the horizontal trace most suggests π or τ, and the spacing would allow α|πάθρωνποι. But there may be curving ink just below the left-hand end, which would suggest rather [ο]στ[ε] ἀνθρωποι.

5-6 Presumably διδάσκα- here stands in contrast to διδάσκαλος in 10-11, so that 5-6 will continue the first sentence, nouns in the accusative, and a new sentence, nouns in the nominative, begins just before μ|ατροπόδος.

5 | . . . εργου. The first trace is a thin vertical in the upper part of the writing space, the second a left-hand curve, as of ε, θ, ο, but with no trace of a cross-bar, the third, after a hole, possibly the top of an oblique rising from left to right (very faint): e.g.]|ου? Then one pattern would be ἡ σπουδα]|ου εργου διδάσκα[|λου, continuing e.g. ἀλλὰ (or ἦν γὰρ?) μ|ατροπόδος κτλ.

7 E.g. προαγωγός]. We expect a semantic pairing with *ματροπόδος*. The lexicographers provide *μαυλιετής* (rate), *ποροβοσκός* (too long), and *προαγωγός*, which fits the space exactly. So Jo. *Chr. Hom.* 5 in *Tit.* 4 (PG LXII 694.10) ὡς *ματροπόδος τις ὦν και προαγωγός*.

8 ἐπι|στάτης or προ|στάτης? The same problem, in connection with the Gymnasium, in AA VA 11. The Gymnasium might have a *prostates*, as e.g. in I. Didyma 84.17-18. *Epistates* seems naturally to suggest a more specific rank: so ἐπιστά[τηςοντ]ς τῶν ἐφήβων I. Priene (2014) 68.74; ἐπιστάταν ... τῶν παιδῶν IG XII (1) 43.22 and 55.6 (Rhodes); ἐπιστάτην τῶν παιδαγωγῶν Gal. *Thras.* 43 (v 888.9 K. = *Scr. Min.* iii 92.12), an office recalled in *malam partem* by [Lucian], *Asinus* 8. Cf. Aristoph. *Byz.* fr. 35 ἐπιστάτης ... και ὁ παιδοτριβῆς οὕτω καλεῖται, with Slater's notes. I have found nothing relevant in the documentary papyri.

10 ἀλείπτης corrected from ἀλίπτης, an itacistic spelling common enough in documentary papyri. This is the name of a recognized post in the athletic world, see e.g. Pap. *Agon.* 6.72-3, F. Perpillou-Thomas, *ZPE* 108 (1995) 232.

11 | . . | . |ν: possibly [εβ]χ[ω]ν, cf. 5-6. That would hint at αἰχρουργία, cf. e.g. Joh. *Dam. Haer.* 32 τὰ τῆς αἰχρουργίας διδάσκοντες.

οὐπ . . . της. π rather than το, therefore not οἴητος; before της the foot of a descender below the line, most suggesting ρ or perhaps ι. -της or τῆς? Not ὁ ὑποκρίτης; οὐ πηλάγρης makes no sense.

12 τ . . . ερας. τρυφεράς, cf. 7 (then e.g. [διαίτ]ης), does not fit well with the scattered traces.

14 end. Perhaps προώθηεν.

17 Perhaps ἤξιμα[έ]νο[ς].

18 ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ. Did a noun follow (or was it understood), e.g. ταμίῳ? Or is the sense simply 'in public'?

19 Perhaps ἀλλὰ [ε]αί καταρα[.].

20 Perhaps καί, then iota emphasised by diaeresis and acute accent. It may be worth considering [λε]ω[.], cf. 27 (but there ειλ-), in which the anomalous position of the accent might make it worth noting specially.

22 κ[ι]χ[.], χ apparently deleted with a dot above.

End e.g. -ειν ἄροις αἰτη[.]μασιν. For αἰτημα 'demand', 'petition', cf. LXIV 4435 7 (rulings of Septimius Severus) ἐξ αἰτημάτων Ἀλεξανδρέων.

23 Perhaps (-)την κεφαλὴν ταύτην. Possibilities include an oath, (ναί) μὰ τὴν κ. τ. But I find no direct parallel: μὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν σὴν [Luc.] *Asin.* 11; μὰ τὴν τιμίαν σου κεφαλὴν *Synes. Ep.* 134 (234.1-2 G.), with many elaborate variations elsewhere in his correspondence.

24 ενθυμ[.], left hand arc of circle. TLG records ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμοῦ, -μοῦμαι, -μουμεν-.

25 E.g. -ων χώρα. Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα, the formal designation of the area round the city, might be relevant, but the minimal traces do not encourage such a reading.

26 Perhaps εἶπεν ὁ ἀσελή[.].

27 []ν: e.g. [υ]ῦν, [ο]ῦν. ἄν so written by the scribe: i.e. ἄν ἰλιωκ to distinguish it from ἀλιωκ (ἀνιλιώκ)? In view of 28, it is tempting to restore ἰλιωκ γένοιτο, -το. But ε leaves unexplained a trace at two-thirds height, further to the right; and ε stands very far from the ο before it. Perhaps therefore ἄν ἰλιω ἐγένοντο.

28 Perhaps εὐμ[.]εινῆς ἄσπερ γένοιτο (the scribe wrote γενοιτο, but cancelled τ with a heavy dot above). Or εὐ[.]εινῆς?

29 . . . εουκ: perhaps [.]ερεῦσιν, cf. fr. 2 ii 12. In that case, something like γένοιτο [ἄν ὁ εἰν] | [.]ερεῦσιν κατακλείνεσθα[.]ει εἰωθώς?

30 Perhaps ἐκεῖνον ἄν αἰτήσα[.].

31 Lib. Or. 50.10 ἀχθεσθαι γὰρ ἄξιον, ὅτι γέγονε πολλάκις.

32 . . . ε]νεκείν? Perhaps e.g. ἀχθεσθ[.]ναι καὶ βα[.]ρῶς ε]νεκείν, which fits the space: -νε- for -γκ- as often, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 170-71. Then μὴ εκ[.] (κ rather than χ). E.g. μὴ ἐκ[.]εἰνός ἀπ[.]ώ[.]σας τοῦτους εἰσαγάγη[.]ς ἢ εἰσαγάγη[.]ς. For εἰσάγειν cf. perhaps fr. 2 i 21 and BGU V 540 cited below: 'introduce into' the Gymnasium? Admission to the ephebate is already an issue in AA I (the 'Boule Papyrus') ii 2-6, and again in P. Jews 1912 (Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians) 53ff. By the second century, at least, this issue lay in the power of the Prefect, see BGU V 540 τὰ περὶ τῶν εἰσαγόντων οὐκ μὴ δεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων παλε[.]στ[.]ρ[.]εἶν νῦν ἡγεμονικῆς γέγονεν διαγνώσεως. Disreputable candidates are described in AA I as ἀθροπτοι καὶ ἀνάγωγος, in P. Jews 1912 as ἐγ δούλων γεγονότες.

34 βαλ[.] : after λ doubtful ink and then a clear upright hooked sharply to the left at the top. Perhaps βαλω: e.g. προσ[.]βαλω 'I shall attack' might suit the context.

ἀντεξετάσω. 'Examine in its turn?' or 'examine in comparison with', followed by πρός: What was the object? Persons wrongly admitted to the gymnasium, or their credentials? At the end, probably τῶν, then e.g. τοῦ[.]το πᾶν τῶ[.] | γένο[.]ς ἢ τοῦ[.]των τῶ εὐ[.]γενέ[.]ς.

35 After γει the tops of two ovoid letters: γένος or -γενες? Then probably τὸ ἐκβληθὲν ἐκ τ[]: e.g. ἐκ τ[] ἤθε πάλωκε rather than ἐκ τ[] αὐ γυμνασί[]ου, since ου in 36 works better as the negative.

36-7 At simplest, the pattern could be οὐ πρὸς ... ἀλλὰ πρὸς. Then θεοὺς needs explaining. We could think of ἡ τοῦς || θεοῖς (strange in this the context), or indeed νῆ τοῦς || θεοῦς, which certainly fits the space. Oaths elsewhere in the AA limit themselves to μάλινῃ τῆν εἰν τύχην (IXA 111, XIB 86-7), but the old formula occurs occasionally in private letters of the Roman period, see BGV III 884.3-4, 12, P. Lond. III 897.20, P. Brem. 53.38, P. Mert. I 28.17, and (with μά) SB XVIII 13867.39, P. Princ. II 70.8, P. Land. VI 121.7-8.

πρὸς: he will direct his examination not to the trainer but to Titianus, since Titianus is the power behind what has happened? Or he will compare the credentials of the excluded with those of Titianus himself?

38 E.g. -caί, [ε]τ[]α.

τῆ[ν] φωρεά[ν], cf. fr. 2 i 7. AA VII 43 mentions δωρεά[ε] (or δωρεά[ν]?) as a possible motive for Maximus to manipulate the gymnasiarchy.

Fr. 2

Col. i

7 δωρεάν: cf. fr. 1.38.

8 τ[] (τι) λέγει, ἀ[]τιλέγει; But I cannot account for the apparent superscript to the top left of τ[]

9 (-)έδωκεν, δ[]έδωκεν.

10-11 Perhaps ἡγεμάν | [Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰ]γύπτου. This was the original title of the Prefect, as the Latin inscription of Cornelius Gallus gives it (J. Phil. II 128.2: DC refers to F. Hoffmann, M. Minas-Nerpel, & S. Pfeiffer, *Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus* (2009) 119); the Greek inscription there contents itself with ἐπι[] τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατασταθείς. IGUR I 62.1-2 (Hadrianic) has ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης, which suggests restoring π[]ε[]ς here. The order can be reversed, I. Cor. VIII.1 80.4 (Hadrianic) Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας δικαιοδότην: so restored in AA III 131. The suggested supplement gives a line of 25 letters, roughly equivalent to the line-length in fr. 1. This fuller formula percolates into literary prose: A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten* (1950) 179-80, cites Ph. Flacc. 2 (vi 120.13 CR) τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος, Jos. B[] 4.616 τῶ διέποντι τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. In our text the grand title in satirical contrast to the unworthy actions (12?) of the prefect? In that case, δ εὐγε[]νῆς ἡγεμάν?

12 E.g. τ[](ε) ἔξιω(-).

13 αὐτοκρά[]τορες or ῥῆ[]τορες might fit the context; so might αὐτοκρά[]τορ (a form of address not found in other AA, and notably not in 5353, but standard in the *Legatio ad Gaium*), but this articulation leaves εαρκε stranded. Then perhaps ἀρκε[]σει (or some other form of the same verb), whether personal with subject or impersonal ('it will suffice' with infinitive). 'Since former emperors have ruled, it will suffice ...?' 'Since other speakers have dealt with (will deal with) this matter, it will suffice for me ...?' ῥήτωρ only AA IVB 36 (singular).

14 εἰστο or perhaps ἰεστο, the first omicron a tiny circle inserted under the overhang of τ[]

16 π[]αῖδες? A possible description of ephebes, cf. AA VIIA 49-50 (17 years old).

17] ἄγε. Possibly φ[]μήγε, but elsewhere the branches of υ are more curved.

21]γεν. c: συ]γεν- or ε[]νγεν-. (I. Prose 57 B = OGIS 669.33 τοὺς ἐνγενεῖς Ἀλεξανδρείας) might be relevant, but the traces disallow -γενε and the space disallows -γενε[]ς.

τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐξέδ[]ν[]? Cf. fr. 1.32 n.

22] θεου: the initial trace is a point level with the letter-tops, which excludes θεου but allows]εθεου, e.g. *περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ* or *νῆ τοῦ θεοῦ* (cf. i 36-7).

ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς DC. The examples in TLG suggest that the phrase is complete, without e.g. λόγοις.

22-3 δι[|]ρηγῆσομ]α[ι] would fit.

23-4 Perhaps καὶ τ[ο]ύτων πολλῶν δι[|]των μό]νον: 'though these crimes were many, I was only informed of them by ...?' or 'and since these crimes are many, I shall narrate only some/one of them?' For the latter, TLG offers Greg. Cyp. *Vita Sancti Lazari*, AASS Nov. III (1910) 399AB τούτων πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ τοσοῦτων, ὡς μηδὲ ἀριθμῶ περιγράφεσθαι, τιν' ἅττα ἀποτεμῶν ἡμῖν ὡς ἔμοιγε δυνατὸν διηγῆσθαι.

24 οὐκ ἀκοῆ δέ μόνον ἐβιβάσθημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰθεασάμεθα, Did. Caec. *Trin.* 1.18.49.

24-5 E.g. ὑπὸ τῶν | [παρόντων]ν? This supplement suits the space: *ιέρειω*ν too short, *Ἀλεξανδρέω*ν too long.

25 ὡς ἂν οἴος τε ἦ. The standard phrase, from [Dem.] and Isocrates onwards, is ὡς ἂν οἴος τε ὦ. Thus Dion. Hal. *AR* 1.49.3 ὡν ἐγὼ μνήμην ὡς ἂν οἴος τε ὦ πολλῶν ὄντων βραχυτάτην ποιήσομαι, Ael. Arist. *Or.* 6.5 (i 378.6 LB) καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξέτασιν, ὡς ἂν οἴος τε ὦ, ποιήσασθαι περὶ τῶν. Here we have the attested but less common ὡς ἂν οἴος τε ἦ, then διηγῆσθαι[|]μενον or the like? He is introducing a witness, or a new speaker?

Col. ii

12, 14 Again, money and a temple?

FRG. 3-II

Small fragments in similar hands: it is by no means certain that all of them belong with frg. 1-2.

FR. 5

6]ε θεου?

P. J. PARSONS

One column of writing at full height (upper margin c.2 cm, lower c.3.2 cm), but damaged to the left; to the right scanty traces from a further column, where the papyrus has broken along an original sheet join. The back is blank. If the supplements proposed in 27–8 are right, the lines originally had c.30 letters, a width of c.12.5 cm. No clear example of iota adscript (omitted in 8 -δρεία; 17 τω). Space-filler in 11 and perhaps 6, 18. Diaeresis on initial iota. *Scriptio plena* 22, 26, perhaps 6. Punctuation: perhaps / in 6; by blank space (separating speakers) 24, 26, 27, 30. The script is an elegant example of the 'Formal Mixed' type, assignable to the later second or to the third century.

Since the text begins in the middle of something, and ends in mid-word, we can infer that at least one column preceded what we have, and at least one column followed. The text itself reports a trial, in protocol form: speakers are named, and their words quoted, without (so far as can be seen) any narrative framework. The central figures are Titianus, identifiable as the (former) Prefect of Egypt (AD 126–33), and 'Caesar', who must be the Emperor Hadrian: the accused, and the judge. That would put the trial in the years 133–8. The accused has three notable senators as *advocati*: [L.] Antonius Albus (cos. suff. c.131/132), [M. Cornelius] Fronto, and [Q. Lollius] Urbicus (cos. suff. c.135/136). The accuser or accusers are not named: an Alexandrian embassy, as elsewhere in the *Acta*?

The charges are obscured by textual damage, but they seem to include forgery of imperial letters and misappropriation of funds, in Alexandria, i.e. during Titianus' time as Prefect. The payment of soldiers was involved (4–6), itself an area for potential treason; the money, 15,000 aurei, made Titianus powerful (22). In 24ff. his *advocati* respond: Albus has nothing to say on his behalf, Fronto takes the charges as irrefutable, Urbicus admits that the allegations of *τυραννίς* and *βασιλεία* are simple fact. Someone asks Titianus why he remains silent: he replies that he has nothing more to say (30–31), but (perhaps) turns to the Emperor. The details are discussed in the notes. It is not always easy to decide whether particular incidents refer to Titianus' conduct as Prefect or to his conduct during the trial.

This has all the air of a show-trial: the prisoner's friends put up no defence. Of course Titianus was condemned, and suffered *damnatio memoriae* (his name was chiselled out in the dedicatory inscription of the Roman Serapeum at Luxor, AE 1966.500, 24 Jan. 126). This cause célèbre provides factual justification for a misunderstood passage in the *Historia Augusta*. The writer there states that Hadrian easily believed insinuations about his friends, and came to regard as enemies even his closest friends and those he had raised to the highest office: among these *Titianum ut conscium tyrannidis et argui passus est et proscribi* (SHA Hadr. 15.6). We now know which Titianus is meant; *tyrannidis* is the charge also in the papyrus; *argui* refers to the trial; *proscribi* justifies the *damnatio memoriae*. It seems that Titianus as prefect behaved too much like a monarch; that charge would look back to the fall of Cornelius Gallus, and parallels what is said of Maximus in *AA VII*.

The trial, it seems, took place before the Emperor, as generally in the *AA*. What was the source of this account? Nothing in it encourages us to believe that it derives from an official record ('protocol') of the proceedings, such as might have appeared in the imperial commentarii. More likely that an Alexandrian embassy laid the charges, or at least attended the trial, and one of its secretaries minuted the proceedings; an edited version of these minutes was then circulated for the public in Egypt, whether as a memoir of Roman misgovernment or as a memorial of imperial justice.

I record my thanks to Dr Daniela Colomo (DC) for conserving the papyrus and improving the transcript; to Dr W. B. Henry (WBH) for a number of corrections and suggestions; and to Dr Andrew Harker and Dr Georgy Kantor for their illuminating comments on a draft of this edition.

-] αληθειαντιτι[]νευ . . . απο
] α θηκηντουκ σαρευιουην
] νειπα . . . [] υρι [] αποφερωα
] νστρατιωτωναναχρσουναμ
 5] σταξ αποδοστ . . . ρ . .
] νταοψωνια . . . ο ηρας
] στολαστοκυριο επιδειξαι
] ξ υδρειαδεικν[. .] σα οδος
] υτας λασα οκυρ [. .] κεν
 10] φιλολο . . . τουκυριου . . . ε[. .] γονε
] κτουιερουχι [] α . . . η ο τα
] σταξασεπι . . . [. .] [. .] στ
] εκαισαρκα . . . [. .] [. .] . . . ι [] α
] αταλαβε[] αι ω αυδ [. .] . . .
 15] ναυτουχειρ σω [. .] ο [. .] . . .
] εκ μενη [. . .] εμ [. .] [. .] . .
] τικσ φ ρμ κ . . . ωκυ [] ω [] εν
] ειςωσφελοναυτοπεπεκω
] αρουτωσδομ ιανουτ παραξω
 20] πηω καιηε . . . ολ [] εκτρου
] σουεμυριου [] π [] ντα [] ιςχιλιους
] απεχωντοςουτρεις [] υσεντι
] . . . [] ρμςουγενομεν [] ιδετον
] σεστη . . . [] αλβσα [] τωγιο
 25] περσοουδενλεγειν [] χομεν
] ανε φρον ωνπρ . . . [. .] αεγκλη
] υποςουεκληθημεν [. .] βικοςκυ
] αρκαιετυ [] αννεσαμ [. .] νκαιε
] ευσαμεγκαιοσα εγου [. .] νεστιν
 30] τοστιτιανεσουδενλα [. .] σ τιτι
] υκ τ . . . νν σαρ [. .] λεγχε
] καισαρ [. . .] . . . ερ . . . αι [. .] ουκεχω
] κμην [. . .] . . . [] μ [. .] ποτη
] καιου [. . .] ν [. .] αεανε

-] ἀλήθειαν, Τιτι[α]νέ, σὺ γὰρ ἀπο
] παραθήκην τοῦ Καισαρείου ἢ
] νειπα τ[ῷ] κυρίῳ ἀποφέρω α
] ν στρατιωτῶν ἀνά χρυσοῦν αμ
 5] ασταξ .. ἀπόδος τ .. ρ ..
] ντα ὀψώνια ο ηρας.
 ἐπ]ιστολάς τοῦ κυρίου ἐπίδειξαι
 ἢς ε) ἐν Ἀλ]εξανδρείᾳ ἐδείκν[υ]ε. ἀπόδος.
 τα]ύτας ἐπλάσατο, κύρι[ε] .. κεν
 10] φιλόλογος τοῦ κυρίου .. ε[.]. γονε
 ἐ]κ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χίλ[ι]α πεντήκοντα
] σταξασεπι ... [.] ... [.] στ.
] ε Καῖσαρ κα ... [.] ... [.] ι [.] α
] αταλαβε[] αι ω αδν [.]
 15] ναυτουχειρ ζω [.] ο [.]
] εκ μενη[.....] εμ[.] ... [.]
] τικο φάρμακ[ο]ν τῷ κυ[ρ]ίῳ [.] εν
] ειςως ὠφελον αὐτὸ πεπώκει
] αρ οὔτως Δομ[ι]τιανοῦ τι παράξω
 20] πηω και ἡ ἐπιστολῇ ἐκ του
] σου εἰ μυρίου[ς] π[ε]ντα[κ]ισχιλίουσ
 χρυσοῦς ..] ἀπέχων τοσοῦτο εἰς[χ]υεν Τι-
 τιανός ..] ρωσ οὐ γενομένου[] ἰδε τὸν
] σεστη .. Ἄλβος Ἀ[ν]τωνίος
 25] ὑπέρ σου οὐδέν λέγειν [ε]χομεν,
 Τιτι]ανέ. Φρόντων· πρὸς [.] α ἐγκλή-
 ματα] ὑπὸ σου ἐκλήθημεν. Ο[ὐ]ρβικός· κῆ-
 ριε Καῖ]σαρ, και ἐτυ[ρ]αννεύσαμ[ε]ν και ἐ-
 βασιλ]εύσαμεν και ὅσα λέγου[ς]ιν ἔστιν.
 30] τος Τιτιανέ, σὺ οὐδέν λα[λεῖ]ς; Τιτι-
 ανός· ο]υκέτι δύναμαι. Καῖ]σαρ, [σὺ ε]λεγχε
] Καῖσαρ [.] ερ .. αι [.] οὐκ ἔχω.
] κμην [.] [.] μ [.] ποτεη
] καιου[.] ν [.] αεανε

- 1 v, upright joining top horizontal (γ, π?) 2], tip of horizontal or oblique at two-thirds height, more ink on edge below 3], second, foot of oblique sloping down from left κ, second, top of upright 3], ink on edge in upper part of writing space 4], remains of upright? concave ink at the top 5], tip of oblique rising from left to right 6], left-hand arc of circle 7], diagonal descending from left to right 8], points conformed as a narrow triangle; oblique sloping down gently from right to left 9], top of upright and of ascending oblique, perhaps κ (WBH) 10], a? or δ?: two contiguous points at top level, second perhaps tip of descending oblique; last, feet of λ? 11], foot of upright, then perhaps tip of horizontal at upper level; of η only the lower part, cross-piece too low for π? 12], ink on edge at one-third height 13], point level with letter-tops 14], end of horizontal or gentle oblique at half height 15], at line-level, oblique rising from left to right, then point 16], stripped surface, then top of upright 17], top of ε or c: two upright traces in lower part of writing-space, the second joined at its top by horizontal ink from the left 18], foot of upright 19], scattered dots on partly-stripped surface 20], short horizontal level with letter tops; lower arc of circle at line-level; lower curve of ε or c 21], v, third, horizontal joining ε near its top 22], possibly horizontal trace at mid-height 23], top of oblique sloping down from left to right 24], foot of upright 25], right-hand end of horizontal near top level 26], upright 27], specks only 28], (first), ink level with letter-tops 29], remains of tall upright? 30], perhaps ink at mid-height on the edge 31], top of upright; perhaps long horizontal at mid-height; lower part of upright or gently sloping oblique (e.g. κατῆ) 32], trace at two-thirds the height of 33], short upright, horizontal leading rightwards from top (γ or narrow π?) 34], the edge of an upright 35], stripped, but perhaps a trace to the right, at top level 36], point just below letter-tops and to its right perhaps vertical trace at half height 37], foot of upright or oblique 38], upright, horizontal trace extending leftwards at top 39], last perhaps μ 40], ρ, see comm. 41], ω, small left-hand arc, then small right-hand arc 42], point on the line, then lower part of oblique descending from the left 43], first, top of upright? 44], [upper part of γ or π 45], upright; upright and lower hook, as of ε or c 46], top of oblique sloping down from left to right 47], φ, foot of oblique sloping upwards to the right 48], perhaps oblique sloping down from left to right 49], κ, specks; third, upright and cross-piece at top (γ, π) 50], ε, see comm. 51], μ, beginning and end of high horizontal 52], ink on edge just below letter-tops 53], end of horizontal at mid-height 54], ω, lower part of upright and upper part of another? 55], upright and top horizontal as of γ, π, then point on the line; point at top level; short descending oblique at top level; beginning and end of horizontal level with letter-tops 56], point at top level, another below (remains of upright?) 57], heavy descender well below the line, upper arc of circle level with letter-tops 58], upper arc of circle?; heavy ink (top of upright or oblique?) level with letter-tops 59], right-hand arc 60], [], specks only, then blank or stripped 61], lower left-hand arc 62], tip (of oblique?) level with letter-tops, detached point well above (part of diaeresis?) 63], v, high horizontal 64], traces at top of writing-space 65], right-hand tip of high horizontal 66], lower left arc 67], upright 68], a, top of triangular letter 69], κ, top and base of ε or c 70], γ, point level with letter-tops; left-hand side of triangular letter 71], first, point (top of oblique?) at top level and then horizontal trace at mid-height; second, upright; last two, perhaps α 72], horizontal traces just below top level; upright 73], third, high oblique or oblique curve 74], upright, then point at mid-height 75], [ink (foot of descender) below line 76], ink level with letter-tops; triangular outline; top of oblique sloping down to right 77], μ, top of triangular letter 78], γ, lower hook as of c; upright, point above to right (α with diaeresis?); γ doubtful, perhaps α 79], [oblique rising from left to right, join at top, perhaps α

(1ff.) '... truth, Titianus ... the deposit of the Caesareum ... of the soldiers at a rate of one gold piece ...'

(7ff.) '... display the letters of our Lord that you were showing in Alexandria. Hand them over! [No, in fact] he forged them, Lord ... from the temple one thousand and fifty [talents?] ...'

(17ff.) '... a [deadly?] drug to the Lord ... [For he proclaimed] "Thus I will bring in some[thing?] of Domitian ... and the letter is from your [office?]" ... if Titianus, receiving ... ten thousand five hundred [gold pieces], became so powerful ... ALBUS ANTONIUS ... "We have nothing to say on your behalf, Titianus." FRONTO: "The charges that you have summoned us to face are [irrefutable!]." UMMIUS: "Lord Caesar, yes, we have acted the tyrant, yes we have acted the king, and all that they say is [true]." [—] "Titianus, you say nothing?" TITIANUS: "I can (say) nothing more. Caesar, examine [these charges]." CAESAR: "I have no ..."

1ff. AA II (*Congressus cum Flacco*) 56ff. ἀ|λήθειαν ... τάλαντα πέντ[ε ἑ]ἰς ἐν χρυσῷ ... κο[ι]τὰ μέ|του τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

1 τῆ|ν, e.g. κατὰ τῆ|ν? Or 'you did not tell the truth about how you took away ...?'

Τιτ[ι]ανέ. The Latin name, the imperial presence, and the status of his advocates (24-7) suggest high rank; and since Alexandria is mentioned (8), the obvious candidate would be a Prefect of Egypt, either T. Flavius Titianus, in office 126-33, or his namesake, in office 164-7. It is argued above that these proceedings belong to the reign of Hadrian, which would decide for the earlier Titianus. The earliest dates for his tenure are (1) 24.1.126 (AE 1966.500, dedicatory inscription of the Roman Serapeum at Luxor) and (2) 20.iii.126 (CIL III 41, his inscription on the Colossus of Memnon, Bernard no. 24). In the former the name has been chiselled out, but the reading now seems certain, see G. Wagner, *BIFAO* 81 (1981) 129-34; J. van der Lest, *ZPE* 59 (1985) 141-5. The latter finds Titianus in the Thebaid in March 126; if this was part of the usual conventus-tour, he must have entered office by mid-125 (the last attested date of his predecessor T. Materius Nepos is 13.iv.124). He held office for an unusually long period: his last attested date is iii/iv.133 (P. Bon. 18), the first of Petronius Mamertinus 11.xi.133 (237 viii 43). In mid-tenure falls Hadrian's visit to Egypt, AD 130/1.

γάρ ΒΒΗ, then ἀπο, e.g. ἀπο|διδως, but I am not sure that απε is excluded, then e.g. ἀπε|φερε.

2 παραθήκη rather than καταθήκη or παρακαθήκη. This reading interprets the initial traces as part of a broken upright, rather than the tips (unusually close together) of the branches of κ. Then the short high horizontal after α represents the top of ρ; it cannot be the top of τ, since the space is too narrow. καταθήκη occurs only rarely in literary sources, and not at all in the documentary papyri: παραθήκη and παρακαθήκη are common in both, normal words for 'safe deposit', the former koine, the latter Attic according to Moeris π 41. In standard Egyptian contracts one individual deposits money (or goods) with another, without specifying the place of safekeeping, see K. Kastner, *Die zivilrechtliche Verwahrung* (1962); W.-D. Roth, *Untersuchungen zur Kredit-παραθήκη im römischen Ägypten* (1970). Only occasional documents specify a temple (see UPZ I p. 132; P. Dryton 37 of 139 BC). But the practice must have been widespread in the Greek world. See e.g. B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred* (2002) 146, 197f. (the Artemisium of Ephesus) for such deposits civic, sacred, and individual. What is happening here? Titianus is drawing on, or appropriating, public funds? sacred treasure? or private capital?

τοῦ Καίσαρειῶν: presumably the Caesareum of Alexandria (Strabo 17.1.9, *Ph. Legat.* 151 (vi 183:18-25 CR)). See P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972) i 24.

3 |, νεπα : the first trace apparently the top of an upright.]ν εἴτας (εἴτας)? or]νε παρ[ε] (WBH), which fills the space more closely?

τ[ι]ανέ κυρίω rather than τ[ι]ανέ κυρίω|ν, where one would expect to see the shaft of the final epsilon. End: α-? or ã pronoun? So e.g. ἀ|μοιβήε τῶ|ν, ã ||χάριν τῶ|ν.

4 στρατιωτῶν. The reference may be general, not to Egypt specially or to any particular crisis. But it may be worth bearing in mind two special circumstances: the transfer of Legio II Traiana to Alexandria c. AD 125 (K. Strobel, *ZPE* 71 (1988) 251–80), and its service in Judaea during the Bar Kochba revolt of 132–5.

ἀναχρυσῶν or ἀνά χρυσοῦ? (a) The verb is not attested in TLG. It was once read in a dozen ostraca, which recorded payment of tax ἀνδ(ριάντος) ἀνακεχ(ρυσωμένου); later editors have agreed to amend this to ἀνδ(ρῶν) ἀνακεχ(ωρηκότων). If it existed, it would presumably mean 're-gild'. How would that fit the context? Much more likely (b) 'at a rate of a gold piece'. χρυσοῦς translates Latin *aureus*, equivalent to 25 drachmas; so e.g. LXXIX 5202 35 and note. Domitian increased the annual pay of legionaries from 3 aurei to 4: Suet. *Dom.* 7.3 *addidit ei quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos*, Cass. Dio 67.3.5 καὶ τοῖς στρατιωταῖς ἐπηύξησε τὴν μισθοφορὰν, τάχα διὰ τὴν νίκην πέντε γὰρ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμάς ἐκάστου λαμβάνοντος ἑκατὸν ἐκέλευσε δίδωσθαι. Is the reference here to regular pay (note ὀψώνια in 6) or to a special donative?

4–5 αμι|. If any sense could be made, ἀμ[φότερον or -ροισ or -ραϊς (sc. χερσίν, cf. Gow on Theoc. 10.35) could be accommodated in the initial lacuna of 5 and still leave room for e.g. ἀ ἐβ[ί]αταξας.

5 β[ρα]ταξ . . . DC, i.e. β[ρα]ετᾶξ or ἐβ[ί]αταξας? Cf. 12. The last two traces are ambiguous; -ξαν might be possible and (WBH) better suited to the space. Certainly the verb often implies robbery, in literature (D. L. 4.59, Luc. *Asin.* 16) and regularly in petitions from Egypt.

ἀπάδος may stand alone, as apparently in 8, 'give (it) back', or govern an expressed object.

6 ὀψώνια 'wages in money', 'freq. a soldier's pay' (LSJ). Before it -τα or τά. After it, apparently a not δ; then . . . ο. ηξας. Perhaps ἀ followed by a verb in the aorist; -λογησας could be read, assuming that η has lost its upper parts to damage, and if that is right we could consider ἀ ὑπελόγησας, the regular word in documents for 'deducting' money, although there is no clear sign of the diaeresis we expect on initial υ.

ξας : the last ink presents as / . The simple oblique might serve as punctuation, but occurs nowhere else in this text. Perhaps a damaged space-filler, 7, though the angle is wider and the stem longer than in 11.

7 If τὰς ἐπ[ι]στολάς, space for four or five letters at the beginning.

ἐπιδειξαι (infinitive) or ἐπιδείξει (imperative)?

8 ἀε κύ. ἀε by itself would be too short for the space.

ἐδεικν[υ]ε: ἐδεικν[υ]ε would be too short (WBH).

9 E.g. ἀλλὰ δῆ]. Note *Dig.* 48.10.1.4. Severus condemned a prefect of Egypt under the Lex Cornelia de falsis (*divus Severus lege Cornelia de falsis damnavit praefectum Aegypti, quod instrumentis suis, cum praeerat provinciae, falsum fecit*).

9–10 E.g. εἴ]ρηκεν | δ] φιλόλογος.

10 φιλόλογος noun rather than personal name. Dr Harker notes that φιλόλογοι have a part to play elsewhere in the *Acta*. At AA VIIA 142–4 the speaker, in a (hostile) reflection on Maximus' piety, mentions Callinicus, τῶν ἀπὸ Μουσειῶν φιλόλόγων. In AA X 40 a quoted letter of Trajan, commenting on an Alexandrian embassy, notes φιλόλογοι ἐγράψατε in broken context. So the Alexandrians reinforced their pleas with scholars of high prestige. If the context is the same in 5353, a scholar (and textual critic?) is produced to attest that the letters are fakes?

τοῦ κυρίου might qualify φιλόλογος, but what would that mean? Had the Emperor himself nominated this scholar to the Museum? or employed him directly on the imperial staff? Alternatively the genitive may look forward, as part of a phrase 'that they were not letters of the Lord', but I cannot reconstruct what follows.

11 ἐ]κ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, cf. 32. Another temple, or another way of referring to the Caesareum?

χιλ[ι]α περιήκοντα. Neuter, not masculine as in 21, where the same figure is multiplied by 10. Since 4 refers to *αυρεί*, we might expect amounts in Roman currency. But 1050 *δηνάρια* would represent a rather insignificant sum. Perhaps therefore supply *τάλαντα* in 12, then β[α]ρτάξας οἱ ἐβ[α]ρτάξας.

13]ε, a point of ink at mid-height, e.g. κύρ]ιε, as in 27-8.

14]ατα, e.g. χρῆ]ματα λαβῆ [κ]αὶ τῶν ἀδύ[ω]ν (the trace does not allow κατάλαβε). ἰεροκλήτῃα one of the crimes of the Prefect Septimius Heraclitus, AA XVIII i 29.

15 χειρ. σω, [] ο. [] After ρ remains of two uprights, η or ω? After ω left and right sides of small circles, perhaps from the loop of φ.], dot on the line and then lower part of oblique descending from the left. χειρώσω seems most unlikely, since the verb is normally used only in the middle. χειρ, ἤ (or ὡς) ὠφέλω satisfies the traces, except perhaps for the (badly damaged) final ν.

16]εκ. μενη. The first trace is part of a small circle: ο? or rather ρ, if a point visible well below the line represents the end of a descender? Then the upper part of a triangular letter, and to the right what looks like the tip of a rising oblique (its beginning perhaps concealed by an overlap).

17]τικο. φάρμακ[ο]ν DC. Presumably -τικον, and medical writers offer a wide range of possible supplements. If the drama requires this to be a poison, perhaps ἀναίρε]τικόν (DC).

18]εισας. -εις ὡς or e.g. κύρι]ε ἴσας?

πετώκει. The final traces might suit ε; or, as WBH suggests, a 7-shaped space-filler. That gives πετώκεις or πετώκει, with no clear syntactic relation to ὠφέλω. Was ὡς ὠφέλω a separate clause? or did ὠφέλω like δφέλω elsewhere serve simply as a particle introducing a counterfactual wish, as at Ach. Tat. 2.24.3 δφέλων (v.l. ὦ-) ἔμεινας ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. This latter usage seemed to purists an outright solecism (Luc. Sol. 1).

19]αρ οἴτως Δομ[ι]τιανοῦ τῆ παράξω. Beginnings: e.g. ἀνέειπεν γ]άρ οἴτως may then belong with the introductory verb, or with the assertion that follows. In any case, the last three words belong to quoted speech, which may extend as far as 21] σω. If we infer from this last word that the Emperor is addressed, this sentence may represent a claim made by Titianus earlier in the trial, not part of the original misdoing.

How was Domitian relevant, assuming that this is the Emperor? DC notes that Domitian in rumour poisoned Titus, but that seems a strange precedent to cite. Domitian also increased the pay of legionaries, and that might be relevant to 4. It was Domitian who appointed Mettius Rufus as Prefect (Suet. Dom. 4.2), and Mettius Rufus ended by having his name erased, which suggests a trial and condemnation (OGI 674; CIL III 13580, cf. H. I. Flower, *The Art of Forgetting* (2006) 342).

παράξω. 'I will produce': of bringing forward a precedent? or of exhibiting a document in court?

20] πηω. First, tip of horizontal at mid-height (ε?); after ω an upright trace and, over a gap, ink level with the letter tops (ε?).]επη ὡς?

20-21 καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐκ τοῦ [] ε.] σου? If this is one of the letters whose authenticity is doubted, this may be a claim that it comes from 'your (Hadrian's) ...'. We should then need to supply a word that refers to the imperial administration. [ταμείον τοῦ] σου (ταμείον as often for *fiscus*) would suit the space.

21-2 μυρίου[ς] π[ε]ντακ[ι]σχιλίου[ς] [χ]ρυσού[ς] . . .] ἀπέχων, χρυσού[ς], cf. 4, suggested by the masculine numerals before it. Space then requires more than the simple ἀπέχων. προ- and perhaps ποσ- would fit, though both compounds are attested only in documentary papyri; alternatively e.g. ἦθη ἀπέχων.

The figure is exactly ten times that in 11, but (if the suggested supplements are right) for a different denomination: 10 aurei for every talent, a rate of 1:24 or 4.17%. Thus the sum mentioned here would be very much smaller than that in 11 (which is equivalent to 252,000 aurei). How could this smaller amount have served to make Titianus especially strong?

τοσοῦτο εἰς[χ]υεν (L. ἴχυνεν): a common phrase in literature (with τοσοῦτον), and commonly followed by ὤστε.

23] . . . []ρωε οὐ γενομένου. The first three traces, caught on an early photograph, no longer show on the original. Before ωε a loop and a descender reaching well below the line: ρ rather than φ, since there is no trace of a riser.

ὡε οὐ γενομένου may be a set phrase, 'as if nothing had happened', cf. e.g. [Hermog.] *Inv.* 3.13.29 (p. 82 P) ἀθρόον τὸ πραχθέν ὡε οὐ γενομένου πλάττεται. However, other uses of this genitive absolute include a noun; and in the ending οῡ upsilon is represented only by a high trace of ink, so that e.g. γενάμενοι would be possible.

ἴδε emphatic, perhaps because (at least as we have the text) it is the prosecution's final point.

24] , εεεη . . . , at the end two or three damaged letters, the last probably ε, then probably a blank before the next utterance. The first trace suggests ω rather than ο. One could try ἴδε τὸν | ἀναιδῆ̄ ὡε ἔεηηηη.

24-9 ἐκλήθημεν (27) might refer to anyone 'called' into court, so of Alexandrian envoys in *AA* IV i 16, X 10. It seems clear from 25 that these three eminent persons are not themselves on trial, nor do they form part of the emperor's consilium. They have been summoned by Titianus to speak on Titianus' behalf, i. e. they serve as *advocati* (παράκλητοι). Note that Urbicus (28-9) actually identifies himself with the accused.

The three *advocati* are:

(1) [L.] Antonius Albus. One person of this name, *cos. suff.* in AD 102 (CIL XVI 47), is probably too early. A second, PIR² A 0810 with addenda online, served as proconsul of Asia (I. Ephesos II 438) at an uncertain date, normally set c.147/8 but by others c.160/61 (G. W. Bowersock, *HSCP* 72 (1968) 289-94). J. H. Oliver and D. J. Geagan, *AJA* 72 (1968) 156-7, identified the same name on a statue-base from Corinth, see AE 1968.474; W. Eck, *Epigraphische Studien* 9 (1972) 17-23 and AE 1972.567, reconstructs the *cursus* of this Albus, who had been *tribunus plebis* on the nomination of Hadrian, and subsequently (c.127-8?) proconsul of Achaëa. The reconstruction continues Albus' career with a suffect consularship (c.131/2), and then as proconsul of Asia c.147/9. Clearly the L. Antonius Albus thus created would fit well in our context, both in age and in rank.

(2) [M. Cornelius] Fronto, senator under Hadrian (ILS 2928), star of the lawcourts (Dio 69.18.3), tutor to M. Aurelius and L. Verus c.140, *cos. suff.* 143. Dr Kantor observes that Fronto's career may have suffered a setback in the 130s, see E. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (1980) 81, something perhaps relevant here. [PIR² C 1364]

(3) [Q. Lollius] Urbicus, *tribunus plebis* and then praetor on imperial (Hadrian's?) nomination, legate of Legio X Gemina, *legatus fetialis* of Hadrian in *expedition(e) Iudaica qua donatus est hasta pura corona aurea* (CIL VIII 6705); *cos. suff.* c.135/6; governor of Germania Inferior c.137-9, of Britannia c.139-142. [PIR² L 0327]

25 What stood in the initial lacuna (c.5-6 letters)? We already have two of Antonius' three names. So: (i) a verb of speaking, though Fronto and Urbicus do not get one; the typical verb in the *Acta* is ἐλεν, which would fit the space; for parallels in which only the first speaker qualifies for a verb see e.g. *AA* XII ii 3ff. (ii) His office: ὑπάτος would fit. (iii) An adjective or adverb qualifying οὐδέν, e.g. πλείον, πάντως.

26 [. . .], α, the trace (the end of a high horizontal) suggests γ or τ. [ἔλυ]τα would fit, in the sense 'irrefutable' (cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1357b17, 1403a14); [ἐβλο]χα, cf. the common εὐλόγως ἐγκαλεῖν, looks a little long for the space.

28–9 καὶ ἐτυ[ρ]αννεύσαμ[ε]ν καὶ ἐ[[βασιλ]εύσαμεν seems to sum up the charges. Similarly in the Acta Maximī, the prefect is described as ἐκβασιλικθεὶς (AA VIIA 54–5) and τύραννος (5351 5). Urbicus identifies with Titianus? or does the plural acknowledge that Urbicus had shared in his behaviour?

30]τος. A personal name? Or a title? ὁ ὕπα[ρ]τος fits the space; so also does σεβασ[τ]ός, but elsewhere in this document the emperor is addressed as καῖσαρ, and καῖσαρ probably appears as speaker-name in 32.

31 ο]ύκ[ε]τ[ι] δύναμαι. Cf. e.g. Men. Dym. 96–7 ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι λέγειν, προσέειπεν δὲ μοι | τὸ πνεῦμα, Synes. Cypri. 2.5 (291.16–17 T.) ἀλλὰ προσέειπέν μοι τὸ δεινόν οὐκ ἔτι δύναμαι λέγειν ἐπιλαμβάνεται μου τῆς γλώττης τὰ δάκρυα. ο]ύκ[ε]τ[ι] may imply that Titianus had already spoken in his own defence.

After -μαι there is a small space, but not enough to suggest change of speaker. In any case, if Καῖσαρ here were taken as a character-name, the spacing would make difficulties for 32 Καῖσαρ: it could not be a character-name again, since there is no space for another character's reply at the beginning of 32; and it could not be a vocative, since there is no space for Τίτιανός at the beginning of 32.

[εὐ]λέγχε. The space, as judged from the certain supplement in 30, requires more than a simple [ε]λέγχε. Alternatively, a compound, ἀπ-, δι-, ἐξ[ε]λέγχε.

32]. Perhaps τάδε], 'examine the validity of these (charges)'. The supplement here must allow for the usual blank space before the new character-name, but [με] would be too short.

[. . .], . ερ . . αι . [. .]: I had tried [ἐκ το]ῦ ἱεροῦ καιν[ό]ν οὐκ ἔχω, 'I do not have news from the temple' (about the missing money, cf. 11). So λέγεται τι καινόν; (Dem. 4.10) and μή τι καινόν; Plu. Mor. 519B, 'Is there any news?'. But iota in ερ would lack the usual diaeresis, and might be combined with the preceding trace to give π (WBH). ὕπερ σοῦ . . . οὐκ ἔχω would make sense in context, cf. 25, but how then to interpret αι . [. .]?

5354. ANTONIUS DIOGENES

51 4B.18/F(1-2)c

13.2 × 31.6 cm

Second/third century
Plate VII

On one side of this piece, written along the fibres, remains of a roughly written account: large sums in obols and chalkoi, large enough, Prof. Gonis judges, to represent taxation accounts at nome level. On the back, across the fibres and the same way up, we find parts of two columns of a literary text. The upper and lower margins survive to c.3.3 and 3.7 cm respectively, intercolumnium c.1.4 cm. The hand, small and informal, resembles those of *GLH 17b* (V 842; *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, late II AD?) and 18b-c (Favorinus, later than c.215 AD; see 5355 introd.), and the format (lines of c.35 letters or more, column-height of c.25 cm or 50 lines) belongs in the same group of close-packed manuscripts; the use of diastole in i 8 *παρ' τ* may favour the third century, see LXXXII 5299 introd. Punctuation by heavy stops, mostly added above the line (by a second hand?), in middle position at line-end i 48; paragraphos between ii 38 and 39? Elision (unmarked) i 4 *εετ av*, treated as one word?, i 5 δ(ε), see n.; scriptio plena i 6 δε, 45 *apa*. Diaeresis on initial i i 2, initial υ i 1. Iota adscript: omitted in a dative i 41? Line-final nu reduced to a superscript bar, i 43. Itacistic spelling i 43 *κεκλιμενη(υ)*.

The mention of Carmanes (i 7) identifies the work as Antonius Diogenes, τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἀπικτα, and the name of another of his characters, Meniscus, could plausibly be restored in i 41. We know the plot of this novel, in outline, from Photius, *Bibl.* 109a-112a. Papyri have contributed one substantial fragment, PSI X 1177 (Fayum); then from Oxyrhynchus XLII 3012 and LXX 4760. The two older pieces are taken up in S. A. Stephens & J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (1995) 148-57. LXX 4761 may also belong; the assignment of P. Dubl. C3 ('Herpyllis', S&W 162-72) remains very doubtful, see LXX p. 17. For P. Mich. inv. 5 (S&W 173-8) see now A. Stramaglia in L. Del Corso et al. (edd.), *Nel segno del testo* (Pap. Flor. XLIV; 2015) 164-6. For P. Gen. inv. 187 see M. A. Bagnoud, *MH* 73 (2016) 129-53.

The new fragment contains two blocks of text, i 1-23 and 38-49, separated by a section which preserves only minimal line-ends. Both blocks feature a first-person narrator (i 2, 5, 6, 8, 12-13, 14, 41); if we assume, provisionally, that the two narrators are the same, the whole column may contain a single narrative. This narrator is male (i 5, 14): not Carmanes, and not Meniscus if that name is recognised at i 41. In Photius' summary, Carmanes, Meniscus, and Azoulis are introduced as a group: 109a22-3 οἱς (sc. Deinias and Demochares) *κυνεφάππουται τῆς πλάνης Καρμάνης καὶ Μηνίσκου καὶ Ἀζούλις*. At some point Azoulis leaves: Photius 110b35-8 *Δεινίας δὲ ἄμα Καρμάνη καὶ Μηνίσκου, ἀποχωριθεὶς τοῖς Ἀζούλιδος, πρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν Θούλην τὴν πλάνην ἐξέτεινον*. It is not clear whether 5354 belongs before or after Azoulis' departure (see i 45 n.), but Carmanes and Meniscus, as Dr Schmedt observes, seem to accompany Deinias on all his major excursions (round the world, the stay in Thule, the trip beyond Thule and to the Moon), and nothing in our text hints at a specific scene, except a dead girl (i 11 n.) and houses in the background (i 6, 43, 46). As for the narrator, Deinias seems, by elimination, a likely candidate.

The original line-length is a matter of conjecture (see i iff. n.), and so therefore are the details of the narrative. With some guesswork, the plot might look like this:

'The narrator (Deinias?) had decided to go back and wait (at a house) until (someone) arrived, then to deliver something and be relieved of his task. He now goes indoors, where he finds Carmanes and others. Someone (the narrator or another?) rushes in, falls prostrate and weeps, (as having found?) the unhappy girl already dead ... The narrator tells himself that he would very much have regretted not waiting to find out the details about her. (After that?) he (will go off to the house, as he planned?) and wait for the old woman, but would like to bring in someone to help him, since two together can back one another up. (Gap of c.20 lines.) Now the narrator sets out (with Meniscus? who is the helper from line 20?). They hide their swords (under their cloaks) and arrive at a house, which they find shut up and no one at the door, since (the old woman?) has not arrived yet. He had entered (the house) opposite ...'

Dr D. Colomo (DC), Dr W. B. Henry (WBH), and Dr Helena Schmedt (HS) examined drafts of this edition, and I am most grateful to them for contributing the notes marked with their initials and for eliminating a cartload of misreadings.

Col. i

] , εμενον ὑφελοιτοτιτων . . . ν
] υτανί . . .] αιδιενγκειν ουπο . . . εδι
] υθ [] ναστρεφειν κα περιτον . . .] . . . α
] πέ . . . [] υρεινεσταναφικομε
 5] εικαποδουδαπαλλαγειην τ υ
] υμην ωδεε[] δ νεγνομην . . . ε[]
] ουςμεναμφίονκαρμανη []
] καταλαμβανωκαιταιιωθταπρατ' τ[]
] σωσνημεραδια ημα ε αυτοσδε[]
 10] ατιονεισδραμων[] κατατησκει[]
] θεισπρηησεδ [] . . .] τηναβλιαν
] δηραπολομενην καιευθυσκοιμετε
] μηπεριμειναπανταταπεριαυτης
] γαρυ ε . . . νεφηνπροσεμαυτοιει
 15] εν νεμελλεσανανδρ αιδια
] ρ στ[] ναπερι . . . κα[] μαθειν
] τα ησ κα[] η . . . ε ειδηβεβαιω[]
] νκαι ειρεινα . . .] αιμενδηαυ
] καιτηνγρ . . . εκ περιμενει
 20] . . .] σειτιναδυ . . . νβοηθονεπα
] χειροδυ . . .] αλληλοι
] . . .] ιν τα . . .] υκαιτον
]] ερε απροσ
] χειριδι
 25] και
] ασκα
] κελα
] υσοδη
] αζου
 30] . . .] ε
] . . .] ες
] . . .] δε
] . . .] υ
] . . .] μ
 35] . . .] υ
] . . .] π
] . . .] υ
] . . .] ν
] . . . [] υκτιε [] φερο
] . . .] παν σ η πρα
 40] . . .] αυτουσκαταμενειν
] σκωβαζιζικρηπτ υτες
] α ιψη αφικνουμεθα
] ροικιανκαιωσκεκλιμενη
] καιουδεναπροσταισθυραισ
 45] . . .] ουπωρααφικετοα
] κογε τονκαταντικρυ
] . . .] φανωστησασ
] . . .] κε
] αυθα

Col. ii

ε . . .] κα[]
 7] περιμεν []
] εις []
] οσα []
 5] . . . []
] εισδρα[]
] πλει . . . []
] τωνσ[]
 10] και []
] μοιω[]
] τερω[]
] νιδιο[]
] νο . . . []
 15] . . . []
] . . . []
] ελωσ []
] υν[]
] διατα[]
 20] μαικε []
] κρικου[]
] ρ[] υ' εδ []
] ε[] η αν []
] . . . []
 25] σιςεδ []
] βλιαπα[]
] ον . . . []
] νασκα[]
] φ' αισδ[]
 30] ιδων []
] ραμμ []
] μα . . . []
] ελλ []
] φ' αυ []
 35] ινεσ[]
] . . .] ρω[]
] . . .] ν
] . . .] ειν[]
] ν κα []
 40] . . . []
] και []
] α . . . []
] . . . []
] . . . []
 45] . . . []
] . . . []

Col. i

] ειμενου ὑφέλονται τι των . . . ν
] υτον ἰ[. . .] αἰ διεγνώκειν ουπο . . . εδι-
] αῖθι[ς] ἀναστρέφειν καὶ περὶ τ[ο]ῦν . . . [] . . . α
] πε . . . [] υρειν ἐστ' ἂν ἀφικομεν
 5] εἰς ἀποδοῦς δ' ἀπαλλαγεῖν του
] υμην' ὡς δὲ ἔνδον ἐγενόμην . . . ε[]
] τους μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καρμάνην [] . . .
] καταλαμβάνω καὶ τὰ εἰωθότα πραττ[] . . .
] ρως ἐν ἡμέρας διαστήματι αὐτὸς δὲ
 10] αττιον εἰςδραμῶν [] . . . κατὰ τῆς κλει-
] θεις πρηγῆς ἐδ . [] . . . τὴν ἀθλίαν
] δη ἀπολομένην· καὶ εὐθύς μοι μετε-
] μη περιέμεινα πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς
] γαρυ . ε . . . ν ἔφην πρὸς ἑαυτον εἰ
 15] ευεῖν ἐμеллес ἀνανδρ . αἰδια
] ρ . στ[] να περι κα[] μαθειν . . .
] τατης· κα[] . η . . . ἐπειδὴ βεβαιω[]
] νκαὶ εἰνενα . . . [] καὶ μὲν δὴ αυ
] καὶ τὴν γρ . . . εκ περιμεινω
 20] . . . εἰ τινα δυ[] αἰμην βοθηθὸν εἶπα
] ρ χεῖρον δυο ἀλλήλοιν
] ἰν τα υ καὶ τὸν
] [] . . . ερε απρος
] χειριδι
 25] και
] ασκα
] κελα
] υροδη
] αζου
 30] . . . ε
] . . . ες .
] . . . δε
] . . . υ .
] . . . μ . . .
 35] . . . υ . . .
] . . . π . . .
] . . .
] [] υκτιε . [] φερο
] πων . σ . η . . . πρα
 40] . . αυτρος καταμεινω
] ικω βαζίζω κρύπτοντες
 τ] ἄ ξίφη, ἀφικνούμεθα
] ν οἰκίαν καὶ ὡς κεκλε(ε)μένη(ν)
] καὶ οὐδένα πρὸς ταῖς θύραις
 45] ον (οἴπω ἄρα ἀφίκετο α
] κογε . τὸν καταντικρὸ
] φανως στησας
] . [] . . . κε
] εν] ταῦθα

Col. i

1] , tip of oblique rising from left to right v , see comm. v , remains of two uprights, ink at mid-height close after the second; top and left of triangle; top of upright; small tilted o? 2 o , see comm. 3] , tip of horizontal or descending oblique at mid-height θ , upright v , foot of oblique descending from left a , foot of upright (i from the spacing) τ , o rather square, but too narrow for ω? [] , a, see comm. 4] , upper part of upright on edge, more ink touches the following π at half-height π ε , foot of long descender, more ink to right at mid-height; then trace level with letter-tops ε , first, thick ink at top level, perhaps oblique sloping down to join upright (v?) 5 τ , trace at line-level (oblique descending from right?), then ink at half-height 6] , ink just below letter-tops δ , ink at mid-height touching δ, more higher to right 7] , end of horizontal level with letter-tops [] , see comm. 9] , shadowy oblique on the edge a η μ , first, top of oval?, second gently sloping horizontal at two-thirds height; of η trace of cross-bar, and right-hand upright; of μ the initial upswing a , ink (beginning of horizontal?) touching a at half-height 10 τ , see comm.] , heavy oblique trace above the line, perhaps top of narrow triangle; lower part of oblique or sloping upright, rising to the right 11 δ , ink level with letter-tops] , see comm. 12] , top of oblique rising from left to right 13 π α ν , unexplained ink below α ν 14 ρ υ , see comm. ε , see comm. 15 υ , upright ink, joining short horizontal at foot; top and foot of upright δ ρ , see comm. 16 ρ , ink at line-level, then convex ink at upper level (o?) [] , see comm. v , short horizontal above curving upright; top of upright 17] , right-hand side of o or ω a , upright, probably left and right tips of horizontal above] , μ or ν η , upper arc of oval; two sloping uprights ε , two sloping uprights 18] , shadowy upright, perhaps end of high horizontal joining from the left ε , lower part of upright; slightly concave upright, at top horizontal extending to right a , see comm. [] , parts of upright, to right high tip suggesting upper branch of κ α i, i added so that it crosses the tail of a (WBH) 19] , see comm. γ ρ , first, foot of diagonal descending from right κ , see comm. ε i , traces near edge, top of upright and splodge (misplaced stop?) on detached piece to right 20] , perhaps ε ω (WBH) v , see comm. 21] , lower part of upright or gentle oblique, joined at mid-point by ink rising from left to right; descender reaching below the line, rising to two-thirds height, then oblique ascending to left, more ink apparently joining at the top (ρ? or v (HS)?) v , unexplained ink to left of v (correction?); then left-hand arc of circle; then confused traces, see comm. 22] , perhaps] , ε ψ 25] , speck at top level 30] , second triangular (α, δ) 31] , ε ε , third, lower part of sloping upright; after ε, top and foot of tall upright (or dicolon?) 32] , uncertain traces on twisted fibres 33] , v , third, triangular (α?) 34] , μ , first, oblique trace rising to join top of upright (μ? ligatured i?) 35] , v , first, end of bending horizontal joining top left of v, another trace on edge just below (ε?); after v, narrow triangular top (α?), then possibly φ, then top parts of two uprights 36] , π , first, upright crossed by horizontal at mid-height; after π, unassignable remains 37] , second, top of thin oblique; third, heavy oblique sloping up gently from left to right 38 see comm. 39 ε , see comm. 40] , second tip of oblique sloping up from left to right? v , high point probably belonging to second upright of v; then small > or right-hand arc of small circle (no space-fillers observed elsewhere in this text) 41] , top of upright τ , ink in upper part of line on both sides of the split 42 a , long horizontal at upper level, and at line-level gently curving horizontal ink extended to touch the following i 45] , ink at top level; upper parts of two sloping uprights 46 ε , foot of upright, lower part of upright 47] , [tip of very tall upright] , top of diagonal sloping down from left to right 48] , [possibly α After ε, apparently a middle stop (elsewhere only stops above the line)

Col. ii

1 ε . . . tall sloping upright, short oblique going leftwards from its foot, to right inclined arc in upper part of writing space (α²); top of upright? [] . . . lower part of upright? lower part of oblique sloping up from left to right, perhaps continued after gap by ink high above the line 2 γ . . . (added in left-hand margin), descending oblique at upper level, touching upright (ν, ς, ρ²); γ rather than ν; top of high oblique descending from left to right 3 . . . [. . . ink on line, gently rising horizontal trace above (ε or ε? or rather τ (WBH)); point at mid-level, then high horizontal trace 4 . . . ink level with letter-tops 6 . . . [. . . last, left-hand elements of ε or θ? 8 . . . [. . . triangular outline; foot of upright below the line 9 τ (WBH 10 . . . [. . . upright reaching below the line bending rightwards at top; ink at line-level (oblique rising to the right?) 11] . . . trace at mid-height to left of the gap 14 . . . [. . . heavy upright reaching below line; top of upright curving to the right, short thin oblique at mid-height, heavy oblique (sloping sharply up to right) in upper part of writing space (ε? or together ω?) 17 ε . . . heavy upright reaching below line, traces of horizontal ink crossing the top 18 . . . [. . . lower left of triangular letter?; upper part of ε?; horizontal ink just below letter-tops 19 δ α ρ ω (WBH 20 . . . [. . . perhaps ι 25 . . . [. . . lower part of upright 27 . . . horizontal level with letter-tops 29 φ . . . point above letter-tops just to the right, accidental rather than small elision-mark? 30 . . . [. . . horizontal at two-thirds height 31 . . . see comm. [. . . point on edge at half-height 33 . . . [. . . foot of oblique rising to right? 34 φ . . . [. . . triangular outline (α²); horizontal at mid-height, short upright below 35 . . . long high horizontal 36 . . . [. . . uncertain trace, then perhaps elements of ν 38 . . . [. . . first perhaps π 39 read by WBH ν . . . first, heavy upright α . . . upright, then oblique rising from left to right at mid-height (together κ?)

'... they might purloin something [from those indoors?] ... I had decided [to hasten to] him ... But [long after] ... to return again and ... to [wait?] around ... until [I caught him/her?] arriving, [so that I could deliver ...] and, having delivered (it?), get away ... [I had it in mind], but when I got inside ... I find those around Carmanes ... the usual things ... in the space of a day. And ... I myself (or: he himself) running into [the room] ... lay flat and [wept for] the poor girl [as?] already dead. And I [would] immediately have [regretted it], [if] I had not waited around to [learn] the facts about her ... I said to myself ... (18) And indeed ... and to wait [there] for the old woman ... if I could [bring in] someone to help ... no bad thing for two [friends to assist] one another ...'

14 lines largely lost.

41ff. 'I go [with Meniscus?]. And hiding our swords [under our cloaks] we arrive ... at the house, and when [we find it] closed and no one [on guard?] at the doors (so ... did not arrive yet), [I had entered the house] opposite ...'

Col. i

1ff. The original line-length remains uncertain. If we assume that col. i sloped slightly outwards towards the left, like col. ii, and make allowance for the warping of the papyrus, it seems that the supplement *μεληεναι* ε suggested for i 13, and that suggested for i 42, *δευτοτακεεθερι* α, would satisfy the same left-hand margin. Of course both supplements are no more than plausible, but the other supplements proposed *exempli gratia* limit themselves to the same length. Very approximately, the initial lacuna in 1-22 would hold c.10-12 letters, the initial lacuna in 40-46 c.15-17 letters. See further 40-47 n.

1 Perhaps *κκεμενου* (initial trace the upper diagonal of kappa). Then probably *κκ* α [1]. At the end WBH suggests τ *ων εμνον*, '... might purloin from those indoors' or '... might purloin something of what was indoors?'

2 παρ' αὐτὸν ἴε(θ)αί? ἴ(ε)αί would be short for the space. End: perhaps οὐ πολλὸν δὲ δι-, i.e. οὐ πολλὸν δὲ δι[α]λείπων (-οῖκα), or some oblique case, cf. Thuc. 5.10.11, etc. 'I had decided to hasten ... But after a little while I changed my mind in favour of turning back ...'?

3 αὐθ[ε] ἀναστρέφειν (for the combination Ach. Tat. 6.11.3) καὶ περὶ τὴν ... [] . . . a, η written above ρ, presumably as a correction, the ink of ν rather thick but not obviously corrected. Then remains of two or three letters on fibres displaced upwards, then traces of two or three letters at normal range, the last α and before that a low trace as of ρ, υ, φ. περὶ τὴν οἰκία(ν) or περὶ τὴν Καρμ[ε]ῖνον οἰκίαν excluded.

4] π[ε] . . . [] υρεῖν. After π[ε], foot of descender below the line, ε or perhaps ρ? If] υρεῖν is rightly read, we could try the relatively rare περὶ[θ]υρεῖν, 'wait at the door'. But WBH thinks the ink more suitable to] η, i.e. τ]ηρεῖν.

ἀφικόμεν Perhaps ἀφικόμενον.

5] εἰς. A noun in the accusative plural? Xen. Eph. 3.6.5 ἰδοῦ σοὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἀποδίδωμι.

ἀποδοῖς δ' seems clear, although δέ is written without elision in the next line. The alternative would be ἀποδοῖσα: against this (a) the triangular ink, with a flat base that extends horizontally at the lower right-hand corner, suits delta better than alpha, although some alphas come close, e.g. in 13 αὐτης; (b) 'I' feminine would be at odds with 'myself' masculine in 14, and there is no obvious place where a male narrator could take over from a female. If δ' is right, we expect the preceding clause to contain e.g. ἀποδοῖν, with something to introduce the optatives, which clearly cannot follow on from 4 ἐστ' ἄν. Even if the implied subjunctive stood at the end of 4, the estimated lacuna at the beginning of 5 leaves little room for manoeuvre. E.g. ἴνα δαίην π[ε]τ]εῖς would fill the space.

τοῦ Possibly τοῦτου δέ, but the traces on displaced fibres are hard to judge.

6] μνην HS and WBH. E.g. διεννο[] μνην 'of what the narrator had in mind, as set out in what precedes' WBH.

. . . ε[] . Perhaps π[α]ρ[ε] WBH.

7] τοῦ μ[ε]ν, probably τοῖς μ[ε]ν (taken up by 9 αὐτὸς δε?). At the end . . . [] . , perhaps , υς[] . , after ε[] triangular top,] the top of an oblique sloping up from left to right.

8 π[ρ]ότ[η]ρ[ο]] [] τας? Or rather π[ρ]άττω WBH, in which case, as he notes, αὐτὸς in 9 cannot refer to the narrator?

9 ἡμέρας διαστήματι. For the expression cf. e.g. Arist. fr. 463 Rose (from Harpocration), Ph. Opif 37 (i 11.15 C.); ἐπὶ διαστήματι ἡμέρας Orib. Coll. Med. 8.46.3 (CMG VI.1.1 296.14-15), ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρας διαστήματι Basil. Hec. 2.8 (GCS NF II 35.16). Here in the same temporal sense, 'in the space of a day'? WBH notes the alternative spatial sense, 'at a distance of a day's journey', see DGE s.v. I.1(b).

δέ. After this there would be room for 1 or 2 letters, but their lower parts should still show on the surviving surface, which seems to be intact.

10] αἴτιον rather than] αἴθον. In the context, δαμι[] αἴτιον is tempting, cf. Heliod. 1.17.3 ὁ δὲ εἶπετο καὶ ἐπιτάς εἰςτ[] ρ[] χ[] τε εἰς τὸ δαμι[] αἴτιον κτλ. If it is right, we have αὐτὸς δέ [] εἰς τὸ δαμι[] αἴτιον εἰςδραμῶν. This may not fill the space, as e.g. οἰκη[] αἴτιον would. But in any case there is hardly room for a name, which encourages the thought that αὐτὸς refers to someone already mentioned, i.e. Carmanes, or the narrator himself.

] . . . probably [] κ[] αἰ.

κατὰ τῆς κλει: a proper name (e.g. Κλει[] οῦς), or a feminine noun, in which case κλει[] δός ('key' or 'collarbone') and κλει[] δούου seems the only realistic candidates. One possibility: κατὰ τῆς κλει[] δός τραυματίς]θεῖς, cf. Leo Diaconus. Hist. p. 153.1 καὶ ζῖφει παῖεῖ κατὰ τῆς κλειδός, καὶ τὸν μὲν πρηστὴ καταβάλλει, οὐ μὴν κατακτείνει. The detail might fit better, if it applied to someone other than the narrator. Alternatively, as HS suggests, we might take κλει as an itacism, which widens the field to include e.g. κλ[] ε[] ἴ[] γνη.

11 εδ. [] . . . ἐδὸς[κρ]ῶν would fit the traces and the overall space, but υ would need to be very wide. The sense may continue e.g. τὴν ἀθλίαν | [πενθεῖν ὡς] ἦδη ἀπολαμένην. ἐδὰ[κρ]ῶ[υ]ο[υ], or better ἐδὰ[κρ]ῶ[υ]εν (WBH), would suit the context, but it requires the letters to be very closely packed.

A dead girl and the swords in 42ff. might fit the story of Thruscanus, who killed Paapis with a sword, and then himself, when he found Dercyllis apparently dead (δοκούσα νεκρά Phoc. 1101b). But the fit is not close.

12-14 Perhaps εὐθὺς μοι μετε[[μέληεν ἂν εἶ] μὴ περιέμεινα πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς [[μαθεῖν (ἂν WBH). D. H. *AR* 1.13.4 περιμεινάντες . . . τὰ λοιπὰ μαθεῖν.

14]γαρ υ ε . . . υ. Presumably a new sentence, [μαθεῖν. c.3-4] γὰρ υ ε . . . υ ἔφην πρὸς ἑμαυτόν, where the damaged word(s) might qualify ἔφην (as e.g. elsewhere στενάξας) or form part of the quoted self-address that continues in 15. Perhaps ὑπεῖπον, but υ and π would impact on each another, as if π had first been written as τ, and extra ink above might allow τ'τ for π (HS). But then how to construct the syntax?

15 ἀναυδρ . . . αἰδια. After ρ apparently a triangular outline; then probably κ, and above it []σν WBH, who suggests e.g. φον]εύειν ἐμέλλες ἂν ἀνδρα ὄν καὶ δια[.

16]ρ . cτ[]γα, c.g. π]ρός τ[]να DC.

περὶ κα[]μαθεῖν . . . We could look for a word-end -ῖδα, but then the traces before the putative ι are difficult to assign. Alternatively, a word end -υ and then κα[ι], the final ι lost in a narrow area of stripped fibres. After περι the letters seem to be: triangular top; confused ink followed by part of upright; parts of a Y-shape; triangular top with base (δ?); top of upright; two uprights. Further high ink to the right is probably part of the following κ.

End: perhaps μαθεῖν τῆ (less likely τῶ). Then in next line e.g. περὶ τῆς ἀθλι]ω]τάτης. cf. 11?

17] . ταττης, the first trace suited to either ο or ω. I have assumed, provisionally, that the blotch above the line is a stop, though larger and more irregular than elsewhere. Then perhaps κα[ι] μὴ ὡς WBH.

End: βεβαιῶ, βεβαιῶ(ι), βεβαιῶ[ς], βεβαιῶ[[ς-.

18] . νκαῖ εινεῖν. Perhaps]εῖν (e.g. ἐσθί]εῖν) καὶ πείνειν (l. πίνειν). Then α . . . [], where the first trace looks like a middle stop, the second like the top and back of ε (WBH) or possibly υ, and the third is uncertain ink at line-level. A middle stop would exclude πείνειν, as HS notes, but also make it very difficult to construe the remaining traces before a new sentence begins with καί. I therefore take it as accident, and suggest πείνειν ἀεὶ.

καὶ μὲν δὴ: heavy connective introduces next phase of the action?

αὐ[]τός? or αὐ[]θίς (WBH)?

19] . . . , possibly]εῖν (WBH).

τὴν γρ τὴν γραφὴν might fit the traces, then perhaps ἐκκεῖ (cramped) περιμένειν. And so [I decided to go] myself . . . and to wait for the old woman there?

20] . . .] . εῖ? or] . ω (HS)?

δυσ]αίμην; WBH.

επα[]ι, perhaps part of ἐπάγεσθαι, as e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1305b38-9 βοηθῶν ἐπαγαγέσθαι τὸν δῆμον. Ph. *Prob.* 104 (vi 30.8 CR) εἰ δὲ καὶ βοηθοὺς ἐπάγοιτο. επα[]γαγέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ would satisfy the initial lacuna in 21.

21 Perhaps οὐ γὰρ χεῖρον δύο ἀλλήλων, 'since it is not a bad idea to have two . . . [helping] one another'. I can find no satisfactory reading for the missing word. E.g. ὄντας or φίλους look too short. ἐτα[]ρί[]ο[]υς might fit, but the dotted letters are mere guesswork.

23] . ερε. α.] . ερεῖ (DC) looks plausible; WBH doubtfully suggests ἱερεῖα (ἱερεῖα or ἱερεῖα).

24 ἐγ[]χειριδι[]ον (or an oblique case)?

28 ῥδη. One possibility among many: ὁ Δη[μοχάρης (the παῖς who accompanied Deinias) WBH.

29] αζζω (e.g. θαυ]μαζου-) WBH.

31 Perhaps] υγες WBH. After ε high and low points as of a tall damaged upright or a widely-spaced dicolon.

38]] ψηφια [WBH, 'e.g. γυκτι εζ[εε]φερό[μην (-[μεθα) would probably fit'.

40-47 If the supplement suggested for 41-2 is plausible, the initial lacuna held c.15 letters. In principle, we could make do with less, writing e.g. in 42 δὲ δὴ 7]ά, 44 εἶρον], 45 θυρωρ]όν, 45-6 α[...]κονε . . . 47 οἶκον] ἀφανῶς. But that would leave very little room for manoeuvre in 1-22, where the lacuna is shorter by c.3-4 letters.

40 αὐτοὺς οἱ ξαντοὺς, then καταμένειν οἱ -μένειν? After the final ν, an angular trace, perhaps a space-filler (not found elsewhere in this text), possibly punctuation, though the shape in 48 is different. The speaker tells the others to stay put, and goes off alone (with his helper?).

41]ικεω. εἰν (or ἀμα) (τῶ) Μην]ίικω? As a reading, quite plausible. But of course e.g. νεαυ]ίικω is just as possible. Then it seems βαζζω for βαδίζω, more likely a graphic than a phonetic error. No punctuation here, but presumably κρύπτοντες ('the two of us') begins a new sentence.

41-2 Perhaps κρύπτοντες ||δὲ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐσθῆσι 7]ά ξίφη. Cf. D. H. AR 3.27.3 ξίφη κρύπτοντας ὑπὸ ταῖς περιβλαῖς. Hdn. 7.4.4 κρύπτοντες ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐσθῆσιν . . . ὄπλα, Polyæn. Strai. 7.48.1 ἐν τοῖς κόλλοις κρύπτονται ξίφη. Unless the line was very long, we should probably take ἀφικνούμεθα as the main verb to which κρύπτοντες attaches. In that case the high stop after ξίφη represents a comma, delimiting the participial clause.

43-6 E.g.

μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐπὶ τῇ]ν οἰκίαν καὶ ὡς κεκλ(ε)μένη(ν)
αὐτὴν εὐρίσκομεν] καὶ οὐδένα πρὸς ταῖς θύραις
ἐστάμενον θυρωρ]όν (οὕτω ἄρα ἀφίκετο α-
]])κον εἰς τὸν κατανακτῖκόν.

45 It seems inevitable that οὕτω ἄρα begins a parenthesis, which refers to a third character. One possibility might be Ζ[ζουλις. But we might expect the article (cf. i 7), and in any case 19 may imply that it is the old woman whom they expect.

46]κονε . E.g. (ἐγὼ μὲν) ἦ]κον εἰς WBH, who notes that a singular subject here (with a singular participle ετήσας in 47) might contrast the narrator's actions with those of his companion. τὸν κατανακτῖκόν presumably continues with e.g. οἶκον, πύργον in the next line.

47] . φανως. The trace suggests ἀφανῶς (δια- κατα-) rather than εκ- εμ- επι- περι- προ-. At the end, ετήσας participle rather than ετήσας[θαι, -]θε?

48 -κε likely.

49 ἐν]ταῦθα WBH.

Col. ii

2 . . . , note in left-hand margin, apparently ηη, then the top of a triangular letter, perhaps raised to mark the end of an abbreviation. περιμεν-, cf. i 13?

7 εἰςδρα]μ-, cf. i 10.

11 ὁμοιω[.

13 E.g. θεραπα]νίδιο[ν WBH, cf. PSI 1177.12.

17 ζελωε[more likely than γελωε[, to judge from the spacing. παν]τελωῶς or the like?

18 Perhaps δε γων] οἱ δε γων].

21 κρικου[(κρικο- οἱ ε.γ. νε[]κρικο- WBH).

- 23 Perhaps ε[τ]η· WBH.
 26 Perhaps βι||βλία WBH.
 27 Perhaps πων DC.
 28 νασκα[· νάσκα[φθον, ἀ]||νασκα[-, -νασ κα[etc.
 29 Perhaps an apostrophe after φ. In that case e.g. ε[φ]φ' αδ WBH.
 30 Perhaps ειδων[·].
 33 ραμμ[·] DC. A horizontal trace on the left-hand top of ρ may suit γραμμ[·].
 34 -φα ταυτ[α] DC.
 35 Perhaps τινε[·] DC.
 36 άνθρω[π] WBH.
 37 Possibly μαιν[·] (? (WBH). Below this line a paragraphos.

P. J. PARSONS

5355. NOVEL (CALLIGONE)

112/130(a)

fr. 1 c.20.2 × 25.6 cm

Second/third century

Plate VIII

The main fragment contains parts of four columns. The upper and lower margins are preserved to c.3.8 cm each; intercolumnia of c.1.7 cm; column-height c.17.8 cm, with c.32 lines, 16–24 letters per line. The writing runs with the fibres; the back is blank. The columns slope leftwards as they descend. Fr. 2, eight line-ends and (perhaps) lower margin, may represent the foot of col. ii.

The scribe writes a rather loose subliterary hand, with features (like the angular epsilon) that recall the cursives of the third century AD. For datable parallels see *GLH* 17–18, notably 18b–c (P. Vat. inv. Gr. 11, Favorinus), which has a *terminus post quem* of c.215 AD (see S. Alessandri, *APapyrol* 25 (2013) 209–41, esp. 240–41). Although his script is irregular, he maintains a relatively even right-hand margin, while observing the rules of syllable-division; in one place at least he adds a space-filler (fr. 1 ii 11). He makes no use of lectional signs, except diaeresis: elision is effected but not marked at fr. 1 iii 31 ὕφων (a single unit), elsewhere scriptio plena is the norm (ii 7, 9, 17; iii 20, 27, 31). Some but not all spaces between words may represent punctuation; paragraphos is written below fr. 1 iii 10, perhaps with special significance, since it appears at no other of c.25 preserved line-beginnings. Iota adscript written at fr. 1 ii 8–9 (perhaps in error) and iii 27; no clear example of its being omitted. Line-final ν takes the form of a high horizontal in fr. 1 ii 13.

The text refers to Calligone (fr. 1 ii 6, iii 19) and Themisto (ii 17), to Amazons (ii 7, iii 23) and Maeotae (iii 17, 21), and to Borysthenes (fr. 2.3), which may be the river Dnieper or the town of Olbia. Thus the action takes place on the north shore of the Black Sea, west and east of Maeotis (the Sea of Azov), and these are the Northern Amazons, as placed by Herodotus and probably by Hellanicus (Fowler, *EGM* II 289). In Herodotus' account (4.110–17) a group of Amazons, captured at the battle of the Thermodon, were carried off in three ships;

they killed their captors, and the ships were carried by wind and wave into the Maeotis, where they encountered the Scythians; some married Scythians, and moved east of the Tanais (Don), and from these descend the Sauromatae. Literary tradition continues to associate them with Maeotis (Eur. *Herc.* 408–10, Prop. 3.11.14), though also with the Don and the Caucasus (Strab. 11.5.1–2, D. S. 1.77.7; Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.53–6, Claud. *Rapr.* 2.62–6).

The personal names link the new papyrus to another find from Oxyrhynchus, PSI VIII 981 (S. A. Stephens & J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (1995) 272–4), assigned to 11 AD. There the distraught heroine exclaims εἰμι | [μ]ὲν γὰρ οὐκ Ἀμαζῶν οὐ[δὲ] Θεμιστώ, ἀλλ' Ἑλληνίς | [καί] Καλλιγόνη, οὐδεμῆς | [δὲ] Ἀμαζόνων τὸν θυμὸν | [ἀ]θενετέρᾳ (35–40). This older text mentions Sauromatians (12–13), Erasinus (17) the cause of Calligone's distress, and Eubiotus, who restrains her from suicide (8–9, 29).

The two fragments, though copied by different hands, clearly represent the same narrative, which can conveniently be called 'Calligone'. The new piece establishes that Themisto and the Amazons played a role in the plot, not just in the rhetoric; and since Calligone first meets Themisto in 5355, whereas she is a familiar reference in PSI 981, the older piece must belong later in the story. For the earlier stage 5355 supplies useful details. In fr. 1 col. ii Calligone is travelling on a ship, which is forced ashore in Amazon territory. She and her party are taken to Themisto their queen. In fr. 2, if rightly placed and restored, Calligone explains that she comes from Borysthene (Olbia), where 'recently' her father was king. Later, in fr. 1 col. iii, she organises an army (of Amazons and others?), on Greek lines, in preparation for battle. This is the same Calligone who, in PSI 981, carries a sword and lives in a tent. Besides war, there is a love-interest: something mentioned in 5355 fr. 1 iii 19–20, perhaps the Erasinus whom she first saw while hunting and whose death (no doubt falsely reported) may be the cause of her despair in PSI 981. The names reflect the roles: Calligone 'of noble birth', Themisto 'dealing out justice', Erasinus 'desirable', Eubiotus 'living a good life'.

Scholars have looked for further hints in literary texts (Lucian, *Toxaris* 51ff.; Polyæn. *Strat.* 8.55), constructing a school of 'Black Sea' or 'Bosporan-Scythian' romances. See D. Braund, *VDI* 254.4 (2005) 34–45. Eubiotus features in Lucian (*Tox.* 51–4), as illegitimate brother of Leucanor king of the Bosporans; he lived among the Sauromatians, succeeded his half-brother as king, and fell in battle against the Scythians, leading an army that combined Greeks, Alans and Sauromatians. For the conjecture that he was Calligone's father, see fr. 2.6–7 n.

These romances will reflect real history and continuing dangers. Olbia (Borysthene) was sacked by the Dacian Burebistas c.50 BC; when Dio Chrysostom visited the city c. AD 100, he felt impelled to comment on the marginality of its Hellenism.

I am indebted to Susan Stephens and the late John Winkler for initial discussion of this text (see *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (1995) 268); and to seminars in Newcastle, Reading and Bologna (especially Prof. Camillo Neri and Dr Anna-Maria Peri) which illuminated both the detail and the context. Dr Daniela Colomo (DC) conserved the original and substantially improved the transcript; Dr W. B. Henry (WBH) contributed further corrections and improvements to a final draft.

Fr. 1
Col. i

] , μοι πολλοικαιφο
] , τρ κατι
] , με []
] , ημεν . []
 5] ,
] , ηνε . θη
] , []
]
]
 10]
]
]

Fr. 1
Col. i

1] , horizontal ink near line-level 2] , top of upright?, perhaps then horizontal ink joining cross-bar of τ ρ . . , lower loop as of ο, then foot of upright, and higher, well above the line, heavy convex ink 3] , , third, long horizontal at two-thirds height; ε or c; top arc of circle or oval; upper part of upright, confused ink to right 4] , . . ink on edge, level with letter-tops, then point at half-height; upper part of upright, tips of rising and descending diagonals to right? 5] , ink at line-level, then right-hand arc of oval (together, ω?) 5 confused traces 6 ε θ, probably simply εθ, the theta divided by a split in the papyrus 7] , long horizontal, ink above its beginning (ε?)
 8] , short upright joining at foot short diagonal rising to the right 11] , long horizontal

Col. ii

εδωκ νῦνα, . . . |
 τρεφοῖτ, καὶ ἡ παρα, [
 στῆν ποιεῖται αὐτὴν [
 νωνοντουεργου [] . . . |
 5 νοντου . . . ἰουηδε [
 ναυσητην καλλιγ [] , ἡνα [
 σαειστοναμα, [] νι, να, [
 γιαλονκατεκολπισεν αυ
 τητηεπ [] , ἡν κῦαῦπ [] των
 10 κ []] τοις κενεσι
 τ []] [] ταχυ,
 δ []] ω [] .] μα
 . []] δραμονκαῖτη
] τηγονκαίτους
 15] πλεοντασεχειρουντο
] στην βασιλευσαν
] θεμιστωνομα, ν
] υς ἰδουσαδετην
] ἡνεθ αυμασεν
 20] καιτουμεγεθους
] ανθρωπων
]] πτα . .
]] αι

Col. iii

. |
 |
 10 δ [
 π [] . . [
 κν [
 επε [
 ἰπ [
 15 αγ [
 ε [] . [
 μαιω, αι, μειν [
 νοιαρχειδεκακειν [
 νηηδ, καλλιγονη [
 20 ρωτα π [] .] μεν [
 μαιω ων []] ει [
 τεκαι] εωσωω, δε
] τωναμαζ, γωνκαιο
] μον αι | τ [
 25]] και | 25 κα [
 πλιςιν] φ |
 νετοαυτη ἰπποακο] [
 βλαπτεςθαιδιακρε [] . [
 σαλοχουσεποιησεκαι ο [
 30] υσεπεστησενκαισιν
] ηματαεδιδ [] . . .] ὕφων
] αχεισθαιτ [] , μαχηνηρη

Col. iv

Col. ii

ἔδωκεν ἵνα εἰ . . . [.
 τρέφοιτο καὶ ἡ παρα [. . .
 στην ποιεῖται αὐτὴν [κοι-
 νωνὸν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ [.
 5 νον τοῦ παιδίου. ἡ δὲ [.
 ναὺς ἡ τὴν Καλλιγ[ό]νην ἀ[γου-
 ρα εἰς τὸν Ἀμαζ[ό]νιον αἰ-
 γιαλὸν κατεκόπισεν αὐ-
 τῆι τε π[επο]νηκυῖα ὑπ[ὸ] τῶν
 10 κυ[μάτων] καὶ τοῖς σκεύεσι
 τ[α] [.] [. . .] ταχὺ
 δ[ὲ] [.] ω [. . .] μα
 [.] εδραμον καὶ τῆ(ν)
 τε ναῦν κ[ατ]ήγον καὶ τοὺς
 15 ἐμ]πλέοντας ἐχειροῦντο
 καὶ] ὡς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν
 [.] Θεμιστῶ ὄνομα ἦν
 [.] υς. ἰδοῦσα δὲ τὴν
 Καλλιγ[ό]νην ἐθαύμασεν
 20 τοῦ κάλλου]ς καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους
 ὄντων ὑπε]ρανθρώπων
 [.] πτα . . .
 [.] . . . αι

Col. iii

10 δ [.
 π [.
 κν [.
 επε [.
 ἱπ [.
 15 αγ [.
 ε [.
 Μαιῶται ἡμεῖν [.
 νοι, ἄρχει δὲ κάκειν[ων] γυ-
 νή. ἡ δὲ Καλλιγόνη [.
 20 ρωτα π [. . .] μεν [.
 Μαιωτῶν [. . .] εἰ [.
 τε καὶ [.] εως ὅπως δὲ
 [.] των Ἀμαζόνων καὶ ο
 [.] μον αι
 25 [.] και
 πλιν [.] ἐφαί-
 νετο αὐτῆι ὑπὸ ἀκοσμί[α]ς
 βλάβπτεσαι, διακρε[ί]ν[ου]-
 ρα λόχους ἐποίησε καὶ λο[χα]-
 30 γο]ὺς ἐπέστησεν καὶ συν-
 θ]ήματα ἐδιδ[αξεν] ὑφ' ἑν
 μ]αχεῖσθαι τ[α] [. . .] μάχην χρη

Col. ii

1 κ, upright trace on the edge a . . . , top and lower curve of ε, ε, more likely ε if ink on displaced fibres represents the cross-bar; second, foot of upright, doubtful rising oblique to right (κ?); possible upright, horizontal ink above?; concave ink at upper line-level 2 τ, see comm. . . , ink at lower level 4 . . . , ink at upper line-level; high oblique descending to right (top of α?); upright on edge. hooked leftwards or crossed by horizontal at the top 5 . . . , horizontal ink level with cross-bar of ε, curving down or joining vertical to right 6] . . . , first, foot of upright; of ν the top of the left-hand upright and of the descending oblique; its right-hand upright and α on a small fragment now detached 7 . . . , foot of oblique descending from right to left ν, concave trace at line-top α, upright descending below the line 10 κ, at two-thirds height, tip of oblique sloping down to right . . . , three traces in triangular formation in upper part of line; parts of upright 11 τ, small left-hand curve high in line . . . , dots of ink level with letter-tops 13 . . . , three spots of ink in triangular formation . . . , ink at line-level 14 . . . , foot of diagonal descending from the left 16 . . . , perhaps parts of ω 17 μ α, foot of upright to left of small hole 18 . . . , ink at line-level 20 . . . , ink level with letter-tops 21 . . . , convex ink level with letter-tops 22 α, lower part of upright, then point at line-level and perhaps left-hand arc above and another point just above letter-tops 23 . . . , top of upright; tip of oblique rising from the left

Col. iii

10 . . . , foot of oblique descending from right, then trace at top level (ν?) 11 . . . , point at top level, then another at line-level, then foot of long descender 13 . . . , high ink curving down to right (ν?) 14 . . . , trace at top level 15 . . . , α, [or ν?] 16 . . . , upright, then to right heavy spot of ink at mid-height 17 ω, lower part of upright, foot hooked to left α, after a gap, foot of upright? 19 δ, after a gap, ink on the edge, at top level, and at mid-height right-hand end of horizontal 20 α, faint trace . . . , point of ink at mid-level 21 ω, point at mid-height before abraded patch ν, after a gap and on an abraded area point at line-level and very long oblique sloping down from right to left (χ?) . . . , upper and lower traces of oval? 22 ε . . . , first, left-hand arc of oval ω, lower left-hand curve (ε, o, c?) 23 . . . τ, second, tip of left-sloping oblique above the line, more ink below (α?) ζ, lower arc of small circle or oval 25 . . . , last a lower loop, as of ω 29 ι, o, top part of triangular letter; of o only the left-hand arc

Col. iv

24 . . . , lower arc of o?

Col. ii

... gave ... so that ... [it] could be brought up. And she ... makes her ... a partner in the work and [the nurse] of the child. But the (other?) ship, the one carrying Calligone, came in to land off the Amazonian coast, hard-pressed by the waves in itself and [distressed] by the baggage (or: in its tackle). And soon ... [Amazons?] ran up and brought the ship in and took the passengers prisoner and [led them straight?] to the reigning queen, whose name was Themisto. And when she saw [Calligone], she admired (her) for her [beauty] and size, which were superhuman ...'

Col. iii

'(17) Maecotians ... and them too a woman rules.' But Calligone ... love ... (took care of?) the ... and armour of the Maecotae. And so that the ... of the Amazons ... (since the army) seemed to her to be harmed by its indiscipline, she divided it up and established battalions, and put battalion-commanders in charge, and taught them the signals by which [they should expect?] to fight the battle ...'

Col. i

Left-hand portion of lines 1-4 on a small fragment joined here by WBH.

1 πολλοὶ καὶ ρό[δρα or the like?

3 Possibly |τέθημε[ν], cf. 4, 6.

6 E.g. -ην ἔθη||κ-.

Col. ii

Lines of c.20 letters.

1-2 εἰδωκεν or a compound: the trace strongly suggests ε, not α. After ιωα, ε very likely (with scriptio plena, as expected); then τρέφοιτο rather than -τες. 'He/she gave [the child? to X?], so that it could be brought up ...'. At the end of 1 perhaps εκτρο[ς, possibly ἐκτρο[ς ('abroad') αὐτὸν (-τήν, -τό). ἐκτρο[ς κινδύνου would be much too long.

2-3 Two ambiguities: η might be article, relative, or demonstrative, αὐτήν might represent αὐτήν or αὐτήν. With αὐτήν we could guess that X (a woman) has addressed the preceding words to Y (another woman); in response Y makes X her partner in the enterprise. καιηπαρα [at simplest could represent a proper name, και ἡ Παρα [, but I have not found a name that satisfies the final traces or the estimated space, we must allow at least one syllable for the next word, e.g. πι||ετήν. και ἡ πάραυτα might satisfy the space, but seems excluded by the trace. και ἡ παρας[πι|ετήν ποιείται αὐτήν his well palaeographically; alternatively, WBH suggests και ἡ παρας[πι|ετήν ποιείται αὐτήν [ἡ και]υανόν κτλ. In either case the masculine noun παραςπιετής rings strange, unless it deliberately adapts to this world of virile women.

3-5 κοι|υανόν: seems inevitable, but the space might allow ἦ or ὡς κοι|υανόν if the syntax required it. The pattern noun + genitive then repeats itself. και [τιθη]νόν τοῦ παύβιου would suit the space and the situation.

5 ἡ δε [. . .]: the last trace probably τ (left-hand part of horizontal and junction with upright). If δ' ἐπ[έρα, scriptio plena was neglected (cf. iii 31, another close-knit word-group); alternatively δι' ἐπίτη? In either case we see more than one ship setting out (from the captured city?), which no doubt precludes separate adventures and narratives.

8 κατεκόμισεν: left the open sea and entered a bay or gulf. A technical term of navigation, see Pollux 1.101-2 τὰ δὲ πράγματα καταγαγεῖναι, καταῖραι, καταπλεύσαι, εἰσπλεύσαι, προσχεῖν, πρὸςβαλεῖν, εἰσορμίσασθαι, ἐνορμίσασθαι, ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι, προσμίζει τῇ ἡπείρῳ, κατακομίσασθαι. Already in Thuc. 8.92; formulaic κατακομίζονται 'if you follow the indentations of the coastline instead of sailing directly across', e.g. Strab. 8.2.1. Here the ship is the subject: does that imply that it was out of control and blown inland? If the ship left from Olbia (and that is no more than an assumption), the obvious κόλπος close to the Northern Amazons would be the Sea of Azov. So in Hdt. 4.110.2 the Amazon prisoners from Thermodon, having killed their captors, were carried by wind and wave to Kremnoi in the Maeotis.

8-9 αὐτῆι or αὐτῆι(?)? Since the scribe uses iota adscript correctly at iii 27, we should take it seriously here. The meaning, presumably, would be 'labouring under its own weight', the dative used in parallel to τοῖς κεύεσι. The expression seems rather precious for this ingenuous narrative. The nominative αὐτῆι(?) would contrast the ship 'itself' with the κεύη that it carries.

9 π[επο]νηκία. This verb is commonly used of damaged ships: e.g. Thuc. 7.38. Eph. *FGrHist* 70 F 199 (D. S. 13.41), *Att. Ind.* 25.1. Note Philop. *Aet. Mundi* p. 202.19-20 R. ναυπηγὰς ἄλλοτε ἄλλη κανίδα νεύει τὴν πεπονηκίαν ἀμείβων; Pollux 1.125 τὰς δὲ πεπονηκίας καὶ κεκακωμένους (sc. τῶν νεύων) ἔστι θεραπεύσαι, ἐπισκευάσαι, ἐπισκευάσασθαι, ζεύξαι, ζεύξασθαι.

10 κεύεσι: 'baggage', loaded by the passengers? or 'gear', 'tackle', essential to operating the ship (listed Xen. *Oec.* 8.11-12; everything except the masts, *Att. Peripl.* 5.2)?

11 τ. |. The trace, apparently the left-hand arc of a small circle, most suggests ο, or possibly ω. We might look for a participle parallel to *πεποιηκία*, but I have found nothing suitable: the trace, if rightly read, would exclude *ταλαίτωροῦσα*. Alternatively, some qualification of *τοῖς σκευαῖς*: *τοῖς σκευαῖς οὐδὲν* would fit the space. WBH judges that *τε* could be read, and suggests e.g. *τε[ταραγμέν]οις*, 'and with her tackle thrown into disarray': on this basis *τε[ταραγμέν]οις* too could be considered.

At the end, *ταχὺ* perhaps begins a new phase of the action: then probably δ[έ]. Of the plural verbs that follow, *κατ'ἐξοραμον* 'ran in from the open sea' and *κ[ατ]ήγηον* 'brought the ship in to land' might apply to the crew, but *ἐχέουρουντο* implies an enemy force, which should then be the subject also of the verbs in 13–14.

12]ω. [.]μα. There is no obvious damage to the left of μ, so we may be dealing with]ω, followed by a blank space. Otherwise we could consider a restoration on the lines of *ταχὺ | δ[έ] αἱ φύλακες τῶν [H]μ[α]ζ[ή]σ[α]ντων ἐπ'ἐδραμον καὶ ... κ[ατ]ήγηον*, or (since]ωμ may be a little long for the space) *ταχὺ | δ[έ] τῶν ναυαγίων [H]μ[α]ζ[ή]σ[α]ντων ἐπ'ἐδραμον* (WBH).

14 κ[ατ]ήγηον. Cf. Ach. Tat. 5.9.3 τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦς κατήγαγεν, Xen. Eph. 1.12.1 κατήγετο δὲ ἡ ναῦς. 15 ἐχέουρουντο 'of taking prisoner' E. Tr. 861, X. HG 2.4.26' LSJ s.v. II.1.

17]. We need a relative to connect *ὄνομα ἦν*, and a verb in 17 or 18 before a new sentence starts with *ἰδοῦσα*. One possibility: *ἦγον, ἦν* | *Θεμιστώ ὄνομα ἦν*. But that leaves a void at the beginning of 18: my only idea is *ἐκ* (ἀπό looks too long) *τοῦ ἦθ[ε]ρος*, as an explanation of the speaking name. Cf. Sud. A 2762 (1 249.2–3; on Antoninus Pius) *τὴν τε τοῦ Εὐερεβοῦς ἐπικλήσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἦθους πρώτος ἀπηρέκατο*. Better therefore to supply *ἦπερ* | *Θεμιστώ ὄνομα ἦν* (WBH, cf. Ael. VH 12.34), then in 18 perhaps *ἦγον ἐν* | *ἦθ[ε]ρος* (DC).

18 . . .] υξ. ἰδοῦσα. The space before *ἰδ* seems a little wider than usual; and, although the diaeresis would not in itself preclude a prepositional compound, the traces do not suit *εἰς* | *ἰδοῦσα* or *προεἰδοῦσα*.

18ff. The female subject here must be Themisto, even though the qualities admired in 19–21 might well belong to the Amazon herself (cf. D. S. 17.77 Thalestris Queen of the Amazons *τῷ τε κάλλιε καὶ τῇ τοῦ εἰματος βίμῃ διαφέρουσα*).

20 τοῦ κάλλους completes a standard pair, cf. e.g. Arist. Rhet. 1361a6–8 *θηλειῶν δὲ ἀρετῆ εἰματος μὲν κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος, ψυχῆς δὲ εὐφροσύνη καὶ φιλεργία ἀνευ ἀνελευθερίας*; Theophil. com. fr. 12.6–7 *κόρη ... κάλλιε καλῆς, μεγεθεῖ μεγάλῃς, τέχνη σοφῆς*; Plu. Alex. 21.10 *αἰχμαλώτους ... κάλλιε καὶ μεγεθεῖ διαφέρουσα*; Ach. Tat. 2.22.2 *ποῖον δὲ μέγεθος ἢ κάλλος σε κοσμεῖ*;

21 κάλλος οὕτως ὑπεράνθρωπον Heliod. 10.9.4.

22] . . . πτω . . .] *ἀμ[α]πτῆται*, possible, but not *εἰ* | *ἀμ[α]πτῆται*, since another letter follows. WBH tentatively suggests *τοῖς κατα* | *ἀμ[α]πτῆταις*: the Queen would address the female captives, and Calligone reply in the following lines.

23 Perhaps] *κα*.

24ff. It is likely that fr. 2 provides the foot of this column, see below. If the last line of fr. 2 ranged with the last line of fr. 1 col. iii, no complete line is missing, i.e. line 24 here = fr. 2.1. But that gives only three lines to accommodate 'She asked her, "Who are you and from where?"; And Calligone replied'.

Col. iii

Again, lines of ε.20 letters where complete.

15 ἀγνο[] or ἀγνο[] possible.

17–19 End of a speech by Themisto to the Amazons (ἡμεῖν)? At simplest, she proclaims the alliance with the Maeotae; *κἀκεῖν[ων]* refers to them, and *γυ[ν]ῆ* to Calligone. In that case *κοινω[]* | *σοῖς* seems likely in 17–18, cf. e.g. Chariton 8.2.10 *ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται καὶ φίλοι, κοινωῖ μεγάλοι καταρωμάτων*.

There is a remoter chance that other tribes entered the picture. Here [καὶ Ἄλλα]νοι would fit the space and the geography (Jos. *Bj* 7.244 τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἔθνος ... Κίθβαί περὶ τὸν Τάναϊν καὶ τὴν Μαιώτων λίμνην κατοικοῦντες). In *Toxaris* 54 Eubiotus attacks the Scythians with an army of Greeks, Alans, and Sauromatians. Similarly κακεῖνων might refer to the Sarmatians, an ἔθνος γυναικοκρατούμενον next door to the Maeotae (Sylax, *Peripl. Scyl.* 70-71). In Polyæn. *Stras* 8.36 the Greeks of Chersonnese appeal to the Sarmatian queen Amage for help against invading Scythians.

19-20 [|ρωτη, π. []μεν. [One dubious possibility: τὸν εἰ]ρωτα ἀπω[κα]μένη, a represented by a single doubtful trace, ω by a point at top level. If this reconstruction is right, cf. Heliod. 1.11.3 καὶ ἡ πολλὰκις πειρώσάντα με ἀπωκαμένη; Gorg. 82 B 11.19 DK πῶς ἂν ὁ ἥσσαν εἶη τούτων (sc. τὸν Ἔρωτα) ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι δυνατός; Pl. *Phdr.* 255A ἐὰν ἄρα ... διὰ τοῦτο ἀπωθῆ τὸν ἔρωτα ... But here it would be a matter of 'pushing away love' itself: because her lover (Erasinus) fights for the other side?

21 Μαιωτῶν []εἰ. [The first trace, at line-level, may represent a narrow letter (too far to the right to form part of the preceding ν); the second trace, a very long oblique, suggests χ; the last parts of ε. εχει would fit the ink, but to judge from the spacing (cf. εχει at ii 15) another letter intervened between χ and εἰ. Dr Colomo note that χρεία in the sense 'military service' would suit the context, or we could consider χρεία as 'needs' (for armour and weapons), but neither provides the sentence with a verb. Space would allow ὤραν at the end of 20, with εχει here, but that does not easily cohere with the otherwise plausible restoration of 21-22 as ε[τολή] | τε καὶ ὀπλίσεως (cf. Dio Ch. *Or.* 2.49 καὶ τοσῆ καὶ ὀπλίει), which would rather suggest restoring τῆς τῶν) | Μαιωτῶν. E.g. εχει or ὀπλίει could be thought of, but make no sense; or a past tense εχ. εἰς-.

22ff. The general sense may be: 'And in order that the army of the Amazons (and others?) should fight effectively, given that it seemed to her to be damaged by indiscipline, she divided it into companies ...'

23 . των. If τῶν is the article, perhaps τῆ, but nothing remains of the first letter but some specks. ο: δ? or ο-? Ό[δρυεῶν] might be thought of, though historically the Odrysian kingdom has its roots well to the south of the Maeotis; but the scanty traces in 24 do not encourage it.

24 . ρι. , probably και and then a narrow ω rather than ο.

25-6 Perhaps -ται καὶ τῆν ὀπλίειν. In that case, does this second ὀπλίει refer to the troops, or to Calligone herself, who puts on (e.g. ἐνδύεται) her armour?

26 πλιεῖν. Unexplained ink above the second hasta of π, but apparently not τε; then λῖ might be ν, and ε the lower part of ε, making πνευ.

26-7 εφα]νετο. The verb needs a subject attached, or supplied from the previous sentence. The traces before εφα] may be read ατρε, suggesting e.g. στρατός or κράτος, but I can find no satisfactory restoration.

30-31 συν[θ]ήματα ἐδ[α]ξεν]. WBH notes συν- here, but ξ[υμ]φο]ραία in PSI 981.25-6: inconsistency, or scribal lapse? The normal phrase is σύνθημα δοῦναι, e.g. Ach. *Tat.* 4.11.2 ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐχώρου καὶ παρήσαν ἅμα τοῖς λοχαγοῖς. τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς δοῦς τὸ σύνθημα καὶ κελύεας αὐτοῖς στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, καθ' αὐτὸν ἦν. Here ἐδ[α]ξεν falls short of the space; ἐδ[α]ξεν] fits well, and suits the context of basic instruction. In that case ὑφ' ἧν should refer to συνθήματα, with the sense 'by whose agency': as a military term, the word may indicate signals as well as passwords. Cf. App. *BC* 5.4.38 τὴν στρατιάν, δεχ τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφήδρευε, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἴδρυε καὶ ἐδιδασκεν ἀναπεθᾶν ἐκ τοῦ τεύχους ἄλλου ἀλλαχὸν κατὰ σύνθημα κάλιγγος.

32 τ[] . τ[η] would be a little long for the space, though not excluded given the irregularity of the hand, but the last traces (ending with an upright whose foot is hooked sharply to the right, as in ε or c) seem incompatible with ν.

χρη. Perhaps χρη. WBH notes that examples of χρη with a future infinitive are very rare and late, and suggests that μαχεῖσθαι depends on a verb of futurity, e.g. χρη | {προδοκῶν. Alternatively (e.g.) χρη|είμωσ ἐμελλον.

Fr. 2

] <td></td>	
	]νησπολις	c.5 Βορυθρέ]νης πόλις
	]ρουθενου	ἐπι ποταμοῦ Βο]ρουθένου
	]ημοσμει	ἦν κατῴκιζε δ]ῆμος Μει-
5	]υενδσει	5 λησιών, ἐβασι]ξεν δὲ ἐν
	]πρωηνευ	ταύτηι μέχρι] πρώην Εὐ-
	]τηρημοσ	βίωτός τις πα]τήρ ἐμός
	]τοῦμετε	]το ὑμετε-

1 π., descender reaching below the line (ρ, τ?)], foot of very long descender 2 ε., oblique rising from left to right 5], stroke rising from left to right to join left-hand tip of υ 8], points above and below the line, one above the other.

Line-ends and perhaps lower margin. It seems likely that this piece provides the foot of fr. 1 col. ii. The verso shares a strip of lighter fibres. The recto fibres are compatible with those of fr. 1 iii 24ff., but without fixing the horizontal range absolutely; if the last line corresponded to fr. 1 iii 32, then no complete line is missing between fr. 1 ii 23 and fr. 2.1. In that case we expect lines of c.20 letters, and the otherwise plausible supplements in 3 and 5 serve as a yardstick for the rest, which are offered only as possibilities.

In fr. 1 ii 18–21 Themisto meets Calligone for the first time. It is likely enough that she asks the stranger, in the traditional form, τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἦδὲ τοκῆς; (So e.g. Char. 4.2.15 τίς εἶ, καὶ πόθεν, καὶ πῶς ἦλθες εἰς Καρίαν;) Then in fr. 2 Calligone replies.

1ff. Some form of self-introduction, as e.g. Ach. Tat. 1.3.1 ἐμοὶ Φοινίκη γένος, Τύρος ἡ πατρίς, ὄνομα Κλειτοφῶν, πατήρ Ἰππίας κτλ.

2 After πόλις a clear oblique trace, most probably a space-filler like that in fr. 1 ii 11; in itself it might belong to ε, though with the bottom hook very perfunctory, but we would expect to see more of it to the right.

4 κατῴκιζε (or κατῴκιζε?) to suit the space; ἔκτισεν would be too short. For Borysthene (Olbia) as a Milesian foundation, see Hdt 4.78.3.

6–7 Εὐ[βίωτος doubtfully supplied. A name seems likely, and this name figures prominently in PSI 981 as the male character who restrains Calligone from suicide by concealing her dagger. This was a traditional precaution in cases of madness, Pl. *Resp.* 331C; Cnemon abstracts the sword of the grief-stricken Theagenes, Heliod. 2.3.4. All the more incumbent if Eubiotos was her father, and the obverse of the famous scene in which the younger Cato's son tried to prevent his father's suicide by removing his dagger (Plu. *Cat. Min.* 68.2). It has been objected that in PSI 981 Calligone addresses Eubiotos as πάντων ἀνθρώπων κάκιστε and threatens to strangle him if he stands in her way: not proper language from a daughter to a father. But need we expect a suicidal virago to mind her manners?

P. J. PARSONS

5356. NOVEL (EUSYENE)

81 2B.85/60(b)

17.5 x 12 cm

Third/fourth century

Plate IX

The top of a column: upper margin 2.5 cm, left-hand and right-hand margins of 1.5 cm. The break on the right is sharp and even: it seems that the papyrus broke along a *kollesis*, and in fact remains of the overlap can be seen on the back, which is blank of writing. The copyist writes a sloping informal hand. α : always in ligature; η with the first upright and cross-bar in a single movement, so that the cross-bar slopes upwards; \omicron small and high. There are no lectional signs, except diaeresis on initial epsilon (3) and perhaps apostrophe separating double consonants (6). Elision unmarked τ , scriptio plena ζ ; iota adscript omitted throughout. In τ \omicron has been marked for deletion with dots above.

This sort of script has a parallel in the Favorinus, *GLH* 18b-c, which was copied later than c. AD 215 (5355 introd.), but the type continues into the earlier fourth century, as in P. Bodm. IV (Menander), see *GBEP* 5b, and the documentary hand of AD 338, *ibid.* 5a (P. Vind. Sijp. 1).

The narrative focuses on Eusyene, a name otherwise unattested in ancient sources. She is a lady of rank; like Leucippe in Achilles Tatius (2.19.2, 2.31.2) and Arsace in Heliodorus (7.9.4) she is attended by several handmaidens. She comes to a spring, alone with two attendants. A group of twenty men take her prisoner, and perhaps ride away with her. There is no indication of time or place, but the Persian name in 2, if correctly recognised, would suggest that we are dealing with an oriental romance. Attic $\tau\tau$ probable in 6.

I have been able to use a transcript of the first lines by Dr J. R. Rea; and the whole edition owes much to close scrutiny by Dr D. Colomo and Dr W. B. Henry.

τεπειγνεξαν . . . ηκαιαπιωνωχετοκαιουμιετουπολυ
 καιηεσυνηητον[. . .] κηνδιαλεγομενον πατριεασαα
 ηκενεπι . . . νπ . . . [. . .] νθαδευδωρεξηει [. . .] καιδιανυγεκαι
 ημε[]ν[] τοτασπηγασε[. . .] αμετα[. . .] νωνδυοαλλων
 5 . . .] . . . [. . .] πολωνκαιπανυ[.] η, εαπροδραμον
] κοσιτοναριθμονοικ[.] . . .] τονα . . .] ε[] βως
 . . .] υσηνηνεκπαυ[. . .] c.12 . . .] ηρουκαιρον . . . [. . .]
] χομενοι . . . [. . .] c.16 . . .] βουλησκαυτοιςπ . . . ρς
 . . .] θαλαμηπολ . . .
 10 . . .] εσαπεκτειναν
 . . .] αθεμεν . . . ιτην
 . . .] ν . . . και . . . τριν . . .
 . . .] . . . μεν . . . ατινων
 . . .] σκληρωντε [. . .]
 15 . . .] ροι . . . δετο . . .]
 . . .] . . . τοσανα[. . .]
 . . .] ωσεγνω [. . .]
 . . .] . . . ρ . . .]
 . . .] . . . [. . .]

1 γ, ink at mid-level ν, ε or perhaps left side of damaged θ; lower part of upright and then ink at top-level; long horizontal at mid-height ου deleted with heavy dots above 2], short diagonal sloping down at mid-height, at left perhaps remains of small loop (α?) ν, top horizontal as of π, τ; horizontal trace at mid-height, then part of oblique rising sharply from left to right (ω rather than ωι, to judge from the space) 3 π, remains of horizontal in upper part of writing space, perhaps joining upright now lost (π, or τ joining next letter?), then traces in upper part of writing space π, lower elements of η?; foot of diagonal rising from left to right; two uncertain traces at line-level [. . .], see comm. 4], . . . , third, top and cross-bar of ε; sixth, lower loop and rightward extension of α? 5], trace at mid-height joining upright (η?) [. . .], angular loop (α? unexplained ink above the line probably the top loop, but the fibres need to be moved downwards); perhaps shallow μ, like that in 6 θμοι; upright and further on point of ink on line] η, horizontal at line-level, damage and hole above 6] . . . , see comm. 7], ink (tip of horizontal?) at mid-height [. . .], see comm. 8], upright [. . .], trace at mid-height, just on the broken edge π, upper part of upright 9], tight loop at line-level (α?); convex trace at top level and concave at line-level λ, right-hand arc of small circle above top level; short diagonal rising from left to right at top level, more ink to right; upright hooked rightwards at base (ε?) 11], trace at line-level and another, slightly to the right, at top-level μεν, two specks, one above the other, at mid-height on right-hand edge of hole 12] . . . , small top arc as of ο, ρ . . . , upright and cross-piece (τ or left-hand part of π); upper arc

τεπεύγον ἐξανέστη καὶ ἀπιὼν ὤχετο. καὶ [ου] μετ' οὐ πολὺ
 καὶ ἡ Εὐσύνην τὸν [. . .] κην διαλεγόμενον τῷ πατρὶ ἔασα
 ἦκεν ἐπὶ τῆν πηγῆν [ν. ἐ]νθάδε ὕδωρ ἐξήει [. . .] καὶ διαηγέε. καὶ
 ἡ μὲν ἐπεθεῖατο τὰς πηγὰς ἐς[τῶς] α μετὰ [τι]νων δύο ἄλλων
 5 . . .] c [θαλ]αμπόλων καὶ πάνυ [.] η, εα προσδραμόν-
 τ εἴ]κοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἰκ[.] ε[β]ως
] Εὐσύνην εκπαυ[c.12] ηρουν καιρόν . . . [. . .]
] χομενοι [c.16]] βουλης αὐτοῖς προσ
]] θαλαμηπόλ . . .
 10] ες ἀπέκτειναν
] αθεμενοι την
]] και] τριν . . .
]] μεν διὰ τινων
]] κληρῶν τε [.]
 15]] ροι] δετο . . . [.]
]] τασανα [.]
]] ως ἔγνω [.]
]] ε]
]]] [.]

above the level of the cross-piece ν . . . , first, diagonal ascending from left to right; second, short diagonal ascending from left to right, in upper part of writing space; third, speck in lower part of writing space, then upright ν . . . , first, diagonal ascending from left to right; second, remains of ω corrected into ε or ε or vice versa?; third, speck at line-level 13] , on narrow projecting strip of fibres: first, short, nearly horizontal trace above mid-height; second, top of triangle (α, λ); third, high traces in v-shape; fourth, small traces in roughly horizontal alignment, above mid-height; fifth, top of upright ν . . . , upper part of triangle; upper part of upright 14] . . . , top of upright reaching above letter-tops
 15] . . . , top and back of c? ε . . . , left-hand arc of oval (unless this combined with ι to give η); left-hand arc of oval τ ο . . . [, foot of upright or oblique; foot of upright hooked rightwards at base 16] . . . , second and third perhaps top of μ and oblique back of α 18] . . . , second upper part of small oval (α?); third perhaps back and down-sloping top of c (unless ν, the second upright combined with ε following on impacted surface) ε . . . , foot of upright or oblique, curving ink crosses the top; top of upright reaching above the line 19] [. . . , top of upright hooked sharply to the left, above the line (?).

'... the urgent ... he got up and went off and left. And not long after Eusyene too, leaving []aces talking to his (her) father, came to the spring. Here water was coming out, [copious] and clear. And she was contemplating the waters, standing there with two others, attendants [of hers], and very [charming was the view?]. But running up to her ... twenty in number ... kept her under strict guard. [For?] they were watching Eusyene ..., waiting for an opportunity ...'

1 (πρός) τὸ κα]τεπεῖγον: 'the urgent matter' (participle rather than main verb)? A common usage, e.g. Heliod. 10.22.1 τοιαῖν γὰρ τὸ κατεπεῖγον, 'dare to do what the situation demands'.

ἐξανέστη JRR.

ἀπὼν ψήχeto: a common conjunction (e.g. Ach. Tat. 1.19.2, 5.22.7, Heliod. 1.10.3, 1.12.1). *Ἀπὼν* as proper name would require the article.

[ου] μετ' οὐ πολὺ: WBH suggests that the copyist began writing the common equivalent phrase οὐ μετὰ πολὺ, and then corrected himself. For the phrase cf. Jos. *Ap.* 1.243 (= Man. *BNJ* 609 F 10a) καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἤκον εἰς Αὐδαριν.

2 Ἐκνήθη: again in 7. I have not found the name elsewhere in Greek or in Latin. Cf. perhaps the toponym *Σνήθη*.

[. . .] κη: the trace suggests alpha. Perhaps [Ἀρ]άκη or some similar Persian-style name (e.g. Mazaces, the Persian satrap who surrendered Egypt to Alexander, *Arr. Anab.* 3.1.2). 'Arsaces' might refer to more than one historical or quasi-historical figure, or to a suitable oriental fiction, compare the Persian princess Arsace in Heliod. *Arthiopiaka*; lamblichus, the author of the *Babyloniaka*, described himself as living under Sohaemus, King of Armenia, 'Achaemenid and Arsacid'.

3 τὴν πρηχ]ν JRR.

ε]νθάδε: οἱ ε]νθα δε?

ἐξήει 'flowed out' of the ground? or overflowed from a pool or reservoir?

π[ολ]ύ, π represented by the first upright and the left-hand end of the cross-bar, υ by the tips of the diagonals. ἡ[δ]ύ might also be thought of, but it does not fill the space. Cf. Joseph. *AJ* 3.37 ἐξέβλυκεν ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ διανυέστατον; Mac. *Ag. Hom.* 15.3 (128.44 Dörries et al.) ὕδωρ ἐκ πέτρας διανυέξερχόμενον.

4 ἡ μὲν ἐπεθεῖτο WBH.

[τι]νων WBH.

End: cf. *Arr. Ind.* 28.3 αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ δύο ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ ἐρμηνέως.

For the scene cf. *Senecothosis*, XLVII 3319 iii 7–12 (p. 262 Stephens-Winkler) καὶ προ[τε] ἡ Μεαμ[η]ρ[ι]ς ἐπὶ περί[στα]τον ἐρχομένη]ν παρ[εγέ]νε[το] ἐπὶ τοῦ τ[όπου] οὐ ἦν [ὁ] ἑε[ὶ] ὄργωσις: ἐστ[ε]ρ]κεν δὲ [καθ]ορώσα τὴν τ[οῦ] ὕδατος [ἐπὶ]ρροίαν.

5 . . .] < [θαλ]αμηγάλων. E.g. ἀότ]ηε would fit the space. For the ladies-in-waiting cf. 9.

καὶ πάνυ | might (1) continue this sentence or (2) begin the new sentence implied by *προδραμόν-*. Much then depends on the interpretation of]η, εη, where η might perhaps be read as υε, and all that remains of the second letter is a trace at line-level, apparently sloping down from left to right. (2) would suggest e.g. καὶ πάνυ [ταχέως . . .] . . . εη, but I can think of no suitable reconstruction. Under (1) we could consider something on the lines of καὶ πάνυ [ἐπίχαρις ἦν] ἡ βέα, 'and it was a very charming sight'. Cf. *Athen. Epi.* 2.2 p. 92 Peppink (Gelo of Syracuse constructed a lake full of fish and visited by swans) καὶ ἦν ἐπιτερπής ἡ θέα. Then the new sentence begins *προδραμόν[τ]εε δὲ ε]ίκοις*, cf. *Chariton* 7.3.7 (the space would exclude e.g. δύο κεικόσι).

6 οικ|. Perhaps οικ[έ]ται, cf. Heliod. 10.30.6 ὑπηρεταὶ προδραμόντες? But the run of the grammar rather suggests οἱ κ|. e.g. οἱ Κ[ό]λχοι, or οἱ + genitive, if their commander was named. If we restore ἐφύλ]αττον (see below), the space is limited: thus οἱκ[έ]ται οἱ ἐφύλ]αττον, or οἱ Κ[ά]σσιοι ἐφύλ]αττον, would just fit.

] . . . τοια . . . η]θως. First, a point on the line and then the end of a gently descending stroke level with the letter tops; second apparently τ, but the top higher than and overlapping the τ following, as if inserted later. After α, ink at top level; then convex ink at mid-height and below the line the foot of a long oblique descender (together, ρ?). ε, or εἰ, since there may be more ink at the end of the cross-bar;

then β rather than ρ, since there are traces of the angular lower loop, cf. 8 β(ουλης). Probably ἐφύλαττον ἀκρεβῶς, perhaps with an apostrophe written in τ': the same phrase Ach. Tat. 2.8.1.

γ init. καὶ τῆν?

Towards the line-end, probably a verb-form: ἐτήρησον (ἐπετήρησον, παρετήρησον) would fit the context: e.g. ἐκ πάντων παρετήρησον WBH. At simplest, this verb would govern Εὐσύνην, and καιρόν would depend on (-)δε|χόμενοι in the next line.

καιρόν . . . [|] . . . [|], the last word(s) may continue into the next line, where about two letter-spaces would be available if we restore προσδε|χόμενοι, four with ἐκδε|χόμενοι. An epithet of καιρόν? or a genitive that describes the occasion seized (e.g. ἐπιχειρήσεως, περιπατήσεως)? The first traces might be read πέρ, except that π would be rather narrow.

8 . . . [, upright.] . . . no more than a hint of ink on the edge; in the context ἐπιβουλῆς seems likely, as simple genitive or e.g. ἐξ (μετ') ἐπιβουλῆς. E.g. κ[αὶ] ὁ τρόπος (τὸ εἶδος) τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτοῦ προσ|φύετατος?

9 Perhaps τῆς θαλαμηπόλους, the dotted omicron represented by a tight high curl.

9ff. The general sense may be: 'They seized and killed the attendants, and mounting Eusyene on a horse (camel) they rode off through . . .'

10 E.g. ἀρπάσαντες, συλλαβόντες?

11] . . . ἀθεμένοι. The initial traces suggest the top and foot of an upright, which would suit e.g. ἀνα- or δ]α-. διαθέμενοι gets used of soldiers dividing spoil among themselves, and that might be relevant here; ἀνα- of loading things or people onto transport (then τῆν | [Εὐσύνην ἐφ' ἵππου]).

12] . . . ν . . . , the first trace ρ or possibly ρ; the last perhaps ι.

. . . τρι . . . , the first τ or (if the surface is narrowed by a small overlap) π; then an upper arc which might belong e.g. to α or ε. πατρι? πετριν-? But the ink after ν remains very difficult: perhaps α corrected to or from ω or ων.

13 αὐτοὶ μὲν? διὰ τινων WBH, then supply e.g. τόπων, ἡμερῶν.

14 Perhaps]ν κληρῶν τε, i.e. τε [καί, τε][λέως, etc. κληρός of the men (e.g. τε [καὶ] ἰσχυρῶν), or of the terrain (e.g. τε [καὶ] ξηρῶν)?

17 Most simply ὡς ἔγνω-, or e.g. εἰθέ]ως, ἀπ' ὕψε]ως, γεγν]ώως.

18 Perhaps] . . . οεεγ.

5357. GREETING THE BIOLOGOI

40 5B.109/G(2-4)b

fr. 1 12.7 x 12.9 cm

Fourth century?
Plate XX

One side of this piece carries two lines of writing along the fibres, apparently incomplete on the left; I can make nothing of the content. Turn it over from right to left, and rotate it anticlockwise through 90 degrees, and you find a text inscribed in a circle which is in turn bordered by loops and sketchy branches touching, at lower left, a decorated rectangle. The main fragment breaks off to the right, but parts of the decoration survive on three smaller fragments. Another, larger, fragment, and five scraps, are blank and may not belong.

The text is written in a crude semi-documentary hand, the letters mostly separate one from another. The basic forms suggest the fourth century, but adapted with the idea of imitating a formal public advertisement: notice especially ϵ and ς sometimes formed as three sides of a rectangle. The writer organizes his words to fit the contours of the circle (with a false division of syllables in 1-2); -i- for -ei- (7), $\kappa\epsilon$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (3, 4, 5).

This was perhaps a design for a placard, which served to welcome a troupe of *biologi* headed by Euthymas and Sambatios, and also the audience that watched them. VII 1025 (late third century) engages a *biologos* and a *homeristes* to perform at a festival. Otherwise *biologi*, a subclass of mime performers, do not appear in the documents from Egypt, though attested outside in a scatter of inscriptions of 11-14 AD. See F. Perpillou-Thomas, *ZPE* 108 (1995) 230, who cites L. Robert, *Op. Min. Sel.* i 672-4; see further LXXVI 5093 fr. 1+2 → iv 28 with n. For mime in general, see LXXIX 5187-9 introd., p. 14.

The format, palm leaves setting off an inscribed tondo, has a much grander analogue in the inscribed shield published here as 5401; the rectangle below perhaps represents a plinth or altar. For a detailed description by Dr Helen Whitehouse, see the Appendix.

εϋτυχ
 ως τοις περι
 ευθυμανκεσαμ
 βατινκελοιποις
 5 βιολογοικεπασι
 τ[ο]ικαλοιςθεα
 ταις διευτυχι
 τεπαντες

In conventional spelling: εὐτυχῶς τοῖς περὶ Εὐθυμᾶν καὶ Σαμβάτιον καὶ λοιποῖς βιολόγοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς θεαταῖς. διευτυχεῖτε πάντες.

'Good luck to those with Euthymas and Sambatis and the rest of the mime-artists and all the nice spectators! Stay lucky, all of you!'

1-2 εὐτυχῶς with dative. This form of acclamation surfaces in notes of public meetings, XLVI 3340 15 (AD 201/2?) and I 41 passim (III-IV AD), and similarly on O. Mich. I 663; also e.g. in LXVIII 4670 (birthday greetings (?), IV AD), in the ironic final greeting of the schoolbook P. Bour. 1 (Cribrione, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* no. 393, IV AD), and on an ostrakon that perhaps accompanied a wedding present, O. Ashm. Shelt. 196 (V-VI AD).

3 Εὐθυμῆν: this name, and Εὐθυμος, seem not to occur elsewhere in the papyri; outside Egypt the latter is common, and Εὐθυμᾶς appears once (LGPN III.A). It may be worth noting that both the artists in VII 1025 are named in the hypocoristic form.

4-5 Καμβάτν, l. -βάτιον: the same name O. Trim. I 41 and LXXII 4913, and many examples of Καμβᾶς and Καμβάτων; outside Egypt LGPN quotes one example of Καμβάτιος (vol. VA).

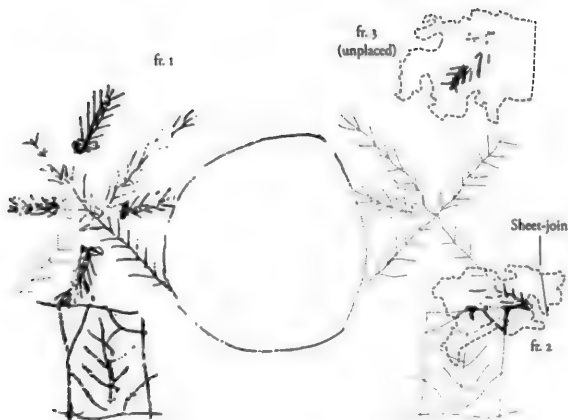
5-6 πάντες τοῖς καλοῖς θεαταῖς. The welcome extends to the audience. One could guess that this notice was exhibited in the theatre at the beginning of the performance, for the benefit of the paying public as well as the artistes.

P. J. PARSONS

Appendix: format and decoration

The largest fragment (1) has drawing in black ink along the fibres, in two different thicknesses of line: a roughly sketched circle, incomplete at the right, enclosing eight lines of Greek inscription; extending diagonally from it at the lower left, a long stem or branch from which project short diagonal lines, suggestive of a palm branch. This extends for 71 mm, with two short sections lost in lacunae towards the top, but it appears to be complete, albeit obscured by a dark deposit at the upper end. A similar branch, with the short diagonals springing from a more meandering stem, crosses the first 34 mm up; it ends 49 mm up from this point, but is almost totally lost in a large lacuna just below the crossing-point. A few diagonal strokes below this suggest that it continued with the foliage in the same upward direction, so that when it was complete, the two branches formed a large X, in each quarter of which is drawn, in heavier lines, a shorter palm-like branch with denser foliage and two or three fruits at the base, each branch pointing outwards from its quarter. The lowest of them touches the upper left corner of a rectangle, also drawn in heavier lines, containing a linear image of diagonals extending from a trunk, like a schematic shrub, with a line forming a triangle in each corner. Apart from the branch that touches it, the rectangular item (a plinth or altar?) and the palm motif are independent of each other. This is likely to have been a symmetrical composition, with similar features on the other side of the circle, parts of which appear in *frs.* 2 and 3.

Above the circle, and drawn in similarly thinner lines, are two incomplete arcs, the curve of that on the right corrected from an earlier version and joining a straight upright line at the right; a remnant of ink further right, on the broken edge, may indicate that there were further details in the lost area. The curving shapes resemble the ends of loops or rounded petals. Further left, after a blank area, there is a straight upright line, and to the left, after a gap in the papyrus, is a linear zig-zag in thinner lines, with some dark blobs at the broken right edge. These incomplete sketches might belong to a completely different design at a larger scale than that below.



Suggested symmetrical reconstruction of the decorated inscription (frs. 1-3)

Fr. 2, in thicker lines, part of a right-angled feature—a decorated rectangle similar to that at the left?—from which extends a branch with foliage pointing upwards, drawn in thinner lines; this could be the lower end of one of a pair of palm branches in a design similar to that at the right, meeting the outer right-hand corner of the rectangular feature. There is a sheet join 35 mm across from the left side of the fragment.

Fr. 3 part of a stubbier branch, drawn in thicker lines, with some dots to one side, and fragments of two lines on the broken edge beyond; at the other side of the branch some of the surface of the recto has been lost, and the fragment ends in a straight edge (perhaps broken at the sheet join?). This resembles the shorter branches in the design at the left, but the angle at which it is shown does not correspond to a likely placing in the design, if the straight edge is to be located at the right.

Fr. 4, a fragment of geometric design drawn with black ink in thin, even lines, the straight ones ruled and the circles precise, one with a double outline. These features could be completed as a poised square within a square, with circles filling the outer space and bounded by the remnants of a straight line touching their circumferences, reminiscent of the complex designs of 'interlace' ornament, as seen from the third century AD on in woven textiles, and also woodwork and painting (A. Schmidt-Colinet, in A. Stauffer, *Textiles d'Egypte de la collection*

Bouvier (1991) 21–34). The colour and surface of the verso correspond to some areas of the verso on the other fragments, and it is possible that it belonged to the same sheet as the others, but was part of a more fully-worked design.

The circular format adopted for the inscription in this drawing recalls that of the honorific portrait-bust on a shield, as described by Pliny (*NH* 35.3–4; R. Winkes, *Clipeata imago: Studien zu einer römischen Bildnisform* (1969)), and the related genre of painted portraits in tondo form, famously exemplified for Roman Egypt by the painting of Septimius Severus and his family, now in Berlin (most recently discussed and illustrated in detail by T. F. Mathews with N. E. Muller, *The Dawn of Christian Art in Panel Paintings and Icons* (2016) 10–11, 74–83). More specifically in relation to this draft inscription, the shield could also be the carrier of an honorific inscription, familiar in the Roman world in the image of Victory recording imperial success in warfare or lengthy rule on a shield, as seen in monumental relief sculptures but also the reverse types of many coin issues. Amongst these is the coinage related to the imperial anniversaries and renewal of vows, the reverses of which might also carry the simpler design of an inscription within a triumphal wreath, as seen on the fragment of painted leather from a shield published elsewhere in this volume (5401). The wreath was in itself one of the common devices for framing a circular inscription.

As a standard inscriptional format the tondo was also employed in the private sphere, particularly on sarcophagi, and like the *tabula ansata*, it was sometimes adopted for the lengthy dedicatory inscriptions included in the mosaic pavements of Christian churches, an early example being the addition of an inscription in this format to the aquatic landscape pavement in the South Church at Aquileia in the first quarter of the fourth century AD (B. Kailerich, 'Visual and Functional Aspects of Inscriptions in Early Church Floors', *AAAH* 24, n.s. to (2011) 47–9). The Aquileia example was an afterthought, but normally the nature of the pavement's design required some degree of organized ornamentation, frequently of a symmetrical kind (see, for instance, the circular inscription flanked by animals and pomegranate trees in the pavement of the church of Bishop Sergius at Umm el-Rasas, AD 587 (M. Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan* (1993) 206 fig. 331, 234–5)).

The draughtsman of the papyrus apparently had some kind of balanced decorative scheme like this in mind for the inscription. A single palm branch in the hand of a victorious athlete or charioteer, an Isiac devotee, or a Christian martyr, is a familiar image in many different media, and palm branches may also be associated with inscriptions carrying good luck messages or congratulations, a connection attested in a number of graffiti. One of a group of graffiti of the first century BC, including several depicting boats, found on a house wall in the Skardhana quarter of Delos, is inscribed within and partly over an arc, perhaps an incomplete circle or the suggestion of one, flanked by palm branches; the larger one at the right is possibly being held by a schematically-drawn female (?) figure (P. Bruneau, *BCH* 89 (1965) 984, 986 fig. 12; M. Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen: Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung* (2001) 31, fig. 6c, illustrated but not further discussed). The text celebrates some individual as *καλὸς κἀγαθός*. A group of unusual graffiti of AD 275–6 inscribed in the vicinity of the agora of Perge in Pamphylia, in celebration of the *agon* that was one of the privileges of the newly-created metropolis,

show the bulbous prize crown awarded to victorious competitors, here carrying inscriptions (Langner, *op. cit.* 134, pls. 75 nos. 1178–9, 76 nos. 1198–9; S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Perge* ii (IK LXI; 2004) 58–60; for the form of the crown, see K. M. D. Dunbabin, *JRA* 28 (2015) 197–8, with earlier references). Supported by one or two soaring winged Victories and drawn in almost spherical form, these echo the compositional device of the *imago clipeata* borne aloft by a Victory; on one of them, two little palm branches wave from the top, and another pair flank one of the lines of inscription. In their more decorative deployment, the palm branches on the papyrus presumably still carried their symbolic association with success, in line with the content of the inscription, but the composition itself seems to draw on types of ornament familiar in a wide range of applied art in Roman Egypt. Crossed palm branches were apparently a design used in metalwork from the Ptolemaic period on, as suggested by their appearance amongst the various types of bars or grilles fitted in the upper sections of the doors painted on the slabs sealing the loculi of Alexandrian tombs (A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Serie C I–II (1963), 116 fig. J.1; J.-Y. Empereur and M.-D. Nenna (edd.), *Nécropolis I* (IFAO Etudes Alexandrines 5; 2001) 185–6, 197, col. pl. on 205). The motif may have retained some particular connotation within the increasing adoption of Graeco-Roman funerary imagery in Egypt: a pair of crossed palm branches was painted on the side of a tomb in the Hawara cemetery (W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (1889) 11, pl. xvii.3). This was not an exclusively funerary motif, however: it seems to underlie the depiction of cross-bars in schematic palm form to quarter the panels seen in Romano-Egyptian wall-painting schemes which divide the main and/or lower zones of the wall into panels, with varying amounts of internal decoration (see, for example, C. A. Hope and H. Whitehouse, *JRA* 19 (2006) 320, 324 col. pl. 4, scheme in the dado).

The palm ornament as drawn on the papyrus also evokes the kind of lattice pattern in which the lozenges or squares formed by the crossing lines contain a single motif such as a flower, sprig of greenery, or bird, and the lines themselves may be of vegetal form: a popular repeat pattern in wall-paintings (and also textiles), it is seen on one of the soffits in the Tigrane Tomb, Alexandria, with an open rose in each lozenge and framing lines not unlike the palm cross-bars mentioned above (M. S. Venit, *AJA* 101 (1997), 717–18 fig. 20; tomb dating to the later first or second century AD). The depiction of the shorter interstitial branches in thicker lines on the papyrus drawing might be intended to denote a different type of vegetation to the date-palm (the clustered fruit at the end of the branch is depicted differently on each surviving example), or simply used for variety. Overall, the design for the inscription suggests an idea sketched from various ornamental possibilities known to the draughtsman, with the circular format, more associated with formal and honorific or commemorative use, chosen with some 'humour, perhaps, to carry greeting to these performers. Given the range of its content, the fragmentary papyrus may well have come from a workshop producing designs for a variety of purposes.

H. WHITEHOUSE

5358. MIRACLE OF THE GOOSE

62 6B.75/F(1-5)b

11 x 3.2 cm

Third century?
Plate XII

This item, seen from the 'verso', presents like a double page from a miniature book; the other side is blank. To the left, a blank 'page' 4.5 cm wide, the left-hand edge a clean vertical cut; then a band of c.1 cm where the vertical fibres are missing but the horizontal fibres of the other side remain for c.1.9 cm of the height; then a written 'page' c.5.5 cm wide, visibly damaged at the right-hand edge. It is tempting to take the area of missing fibres as the hinge of a bifolium, the vertical fibres deliberately removed to make it less likely that the papyrus would rupture when folded. At the top and bottom of the presumed hinge the underfibres too are missing: at the top in a rectilinear notch, at the foot deeper and more irregular. If these are deliberate incisions, they may have served to house a string which held the codex together. On the other hand, as Dr Henry observes, this account leaves the left-hand page narrower than the right-hand: he suggests that the missing fibres represent accidental damage, so that the original fold ran down the left-hand side of the right-hand page, both pages measuring 5.5 cm in width.

It seems that the original text ended with 4 παλον, which is indented enough to be approximately centred. That left a lower margin approximately equal to the upper margin. The rest was then added, with the last line squeezed in at the foot, probably by the same hand but writing smaller and more carelessly; even then the initial μ of ς seems to have been added later. This suggests that the scribe began with the Miracle of Laocrates; then, as an afterthought, included the separate Miracle of the Goose.

The script is not stylish, but attempts formality. The letters are written separately; overall the scribe aims at a square/circular modulus; the feet of uprights carry serifs or half-serifs, straight or oblique. Alpha takes the angular shape in the first two examples, then becomes progressively more looped and cursive. The two arcs of omicron fail to join smoothly at the top, a typically amateur feature. Amateur hands are difficult to date, especially on so small a sample and in a genre (book-titles) that sometimes adopts an archaic formality by way of decoration. Some aspects look early Roman, the plain round style represented e.g. by *GLH* 10c, 11b, and 14, with a date perhaps in the first part of the second century (early for a codex). But the script of III 412 (Julius Africanus, *Kestoi*; *GLH* 23a) provides a close parallel, and that is objectively dated to the mid-third century.

Some words are spaced, and ornamental squiggles set off each line: such simple decoration occurs widely in initial and final titles, see F. Schironi, *TO MEFA BIBLION* (2010) 23-4, G. Del Mastro, *Titoli e annotazioni bibliografiche nei papiri greci di Ercolano* (2014) 18-20.

The text is plainly a title, and part of a miniature codex. In principle, the written page might be the first of the bifolium, or the third, depending on the fold. In either case we need to explain why the other three pages are blank. It seems most likely that we have the first page; then the text will have begun on the first right hand-page of the next bifolium, and finished before it reached the third page of this initial bifolium. Such a tiny book might simply be convenient to transport: for the variety of texts found in miniature codices see *Typology* 22

(papyrus) and 30 (parchment), and more recently e.g. T. J. Kraus, *Early Christianity 7* (2016) 134–152. Or again, given its pious content, it may have served as an amulet.

Here the obvious parallels come from Christian texts. Compare for example P. Ant. II 54 (Paternoster), assigned to the third century; a double leaf of papyrus (each page 2.6 × 4 cm) with notches at top and foot of fold; originally at least one more double leaf? Or XXXIV 2684 (Epistle of Jude), another miniature bifolium, though without notches. The Church Fathers, in explaining Jewish *φουλακτήρια*, refer to a current practice by which women and small children wear Gospels round their neck (Chrys. *Stat.* 19.4, PG 49.196; *Hom. in Mt.* 72.2, PG 58.669), specifically *εὐαγγέλια μικρά* (Isid. *Pel. Epp.* 2.150, PG 78.604BC), and it seems to me perverse to regard miniature codices and amulets as mutually exclusive groups: see most recently B. C. Jones, *New Testament Texts on Greek Amulets from Late Antiquity* (2016) 117–122. How were such amulets worn? A naked text would be liable to daily wear and tear. More likely the holy word was fitted into an amulet case. For a study of such cases Dr Henry refers to P. W. Schienerl, *AW* 15.4 (1984) 45–54; examples are illustrated in S. Walker and M. Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (1997) 173–4 (nos. 215–16).

How would 5358 have fitted a case, especially one of the common cylindrical variety? Dr Henry writes: 'Apparently the bifolium, already folded in half at the central fold to give two leaves each about 5.5 cm wide, was folded again in half vertically, with the text page (p. 1) on the outside; then the outer edge of the blank leaf (pp. 3–4) was tucked in and the bifolium was rolled up from left to right and squashed, producing a package about 0.9 cm wide (a sixth of the original page-width) with the right-hand edge of the text page (p. 1) on the outside; finally the whole was rolled up again, giving a cylinder with a circumference of about 0.9 cm (so a diameter of about 0.3 cm), with the rightmost panel of p. 1 on the outside and the rightmost panel of p. 4 one layer further down. The outer layer would be damaged whenever the amulet was placed in or removed from its (presumably rightly-fitting) case. So the outermost panel (corresponding to the right-hand edge of the text page, p. 1) is largely lost and the next one down (corresponding to the inner edge of p. 4) is badly damaged at the extremities. This explanation accounts for the observable facts: (1) vertical folds at about 0.9 cm intervals on the text page have caused damage (cracks in the writing surface, revealing the horizontal fibres below, and notches at the upper and especially lower edges), particularly evident in the right-hand half of the text page; (2) the rightmost panel of the text page is largely lost, and the rightmost panel of the page adjoining it is badly damaged on the side with vertical fibres.'

Our text does not state which god performed the miracles described, and whether the goose figured as agent or as object. In the pagan world, certainly, sacred geese were to be found in Egypt, specifically the *χηναλώπηξ*, sacred to the Nile (Hdt. 2.72, Ael. *NA* 10.16), Amun, and other deities. But there were *ἱεροὶ χήνες* elsewhere: at Rome, naturally (D. H. *AR* 13.7; *Plu. Fort. Rom.* 12 (325C)), or in the temple of Isis at Smyrna, where Aelius Aristides encountered them (*Ἱεροὶ λόγοι* 3.49, ii 425 Keil); a goose could be sacrificed to Priapus (Petr. *Sat.* 136.4) or to Isis (Paus. 10.32.16; Ael. *Arist. I.c.* 3.45, ii 424 K.; *Ov. Fast.* 1.454; *Juv.* 6.540). Dr Dorothy Thompson notes the interesting history of a gouty pilgrim at Epidaurus in the fourth century BC, IG IV².1 122.133–4: *Κιανὸς ποδάγραν. τοῦτου ἕπαρ χάν ποσιπορευο[μένου δάκνων] | αἰδοῦ*

τοὺς πόδας καὶ ἐξαιμάσων ὑγιῆ ἐπόη[σε]. See in general W. Speyer, 'Gans', *JbAC* 16 (1973) 178–89. Geese-miracles do figure also in Christian legend (*ibid.* 187–8), and that might explain why no particular deity is mentioned in this text. But the examples are all much later and far away; more likely, as Dr Henry suggests, that this copyist excerpted his miracles from a larger collection that named the responsible god only at the beginning of the whole corpus.

<p> $\tilde{\alpha}$ΡΕΤΗ $\tilde{\eta}$ ΠΕΡΙ $\tilde{\lambda}$ΑΟΚΡΑΤΗΝ [$\tilde{\epsilon}$ΠΙΚΛΗΘΕΝΤΑΙ Π $\tilde{\pi}$ΑΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ Η 5] ΠΙΤΟΝ ΧΗΝ ΑΤΟΝ Α . . [</p>	<p> ἀρετῆ ἡ περὶ Λαοκράτην ἐπικληθέντα Ἴπ- παλον καὶ ἡ [πε- ρὶ τὸν χήνα τὸν α . . [</p>
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'The miracle regarding Laocrates called Hippalus, and the one regarding the ... goose.'

It is clear that nothing is lost between line 3 and line 4. In both 1 and 2 one could think of supplying τὸν in the final lacuna, but that would destroy the centred symmetry. The faint traces at the end of 1, mostly at the level of the suprascript ornament, are probably accidental.

1 ἀρετή. For the meaning 'miracle' performed by a god, see XI 1382 (LDAB 4909), with end-title (22–5) Διὸς Ἰλίου μεγάλου Σαραπίδος ἀρετῆ ἡ περὶ Συρίωνα τὸν κυβερνήτην. Note 19–21 καταχωρίζεται ἡ ἀρετῆ ἐν ταῖς Μερκουρίου βιβλιοθήκαις. οἱ παράντες εἴπατε ἐς Ζεὺς Σάραπις. Other examples e.g. BDAG s.v. 2.

2 Λαοκράτην. I have found this form of the name only in a Euboean inscription of the fifth century BC, IG XII.9 56 (235). Λακράτης and Λεωκράτης occur quite commonly elsewhere, but for Egypt the only example on papyrus seems to be Λακράτου in P. Tebt. III.2 1015 (11 BC), to which Dr Henry adds Λακράτης in l. Th. Sy. 38.2 (Hellenistic), Λεωκράτης in l. Syr. 1977.1. No doubt it is simple coincidence that the philosopher Lakydes owned a devoted pet goose (*Ael. VH* 7.41, *Plin. NH* 10.51). Ἴππαλος, on the other hand, is attested quite commonly in Egypt, rarely outside.

3 ἐπικληθέντα. This aorist participle occurs commonly in literature to introduce a secondary name or nickname or title; the documentary papyri prefer ἐπικαλούμενος or ἐπικεκλημένος. I do not know what this tells us about the geographical context of this miracle, or about the social context of the *epikleis*.

5 τὸν α . . [. The final ink might represent (1) ν, the first upright short and the second tall and heavy, as in nu preceding; or possibly (2) a short γ, the top sloping down, and then a tall upright. To the right c.2 letters would be lost, if this line was approximately centred. Under (1) I can think of no plausible supplement, unless a proper name like Νυ[ίου]. Under (2) we could consider ἀγ[ί]ον, but elsewhere ἱερός is the epithet that describes 'sacred' geese, cf. D. H. *AR* 13.7, *Plu. Fort. Rom.* 12 (325C); or ἀγρ[ί]ον, the normal term for wild geese (e.g. *Long. 2.12.4*), but if the upright trace represents rho, we might expect to see remains of the loop.

5359. WRITING EXERCISE

32 4B.90/E(3-4)a

6.8 × 15.8 cm (left fr.), 12.4 × 15.1 cm (right fr.)

Second century?

Plate X

The front of this piece has remains of two columns from an account or register, written in a small practised cursive along the fibres and at right angles to a *kollesis*: each entry gives the full name of an individual (name, father, grandfather, mother), which suggests an official document. At right angles to this, and mainly in the intercolumnium, a thick coarse pen has written ϕ several times. There is further text in the intercolumnium: to the left, β , β , and to the right ψ | $\beta\omega$, the psi with a double vertical. Above, and upside down in relation to it, we have $\epsilon\nu$ | $\psi\upsilon\chi\iota$ (for $\epsilon\upsilon\psi\upsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$), written in a 'Roman Uncial' hand resembling that of lines 7-8 on the back, the letters of the first line being much larger than those of the second. The cursive could be assigned to the second century.

The back, which must be the original verso, contains further writing practice and doodles, crowded together and sometimes overlapping, again written along the fibres, parallel to the longer dimension. The supplement in line 7 gives the distance between the fragments (about 0.8 cm). We seem to have the original margin to left and right, which would imply that the piece was cut out of the original roll, since the lower margin of the register (corresponding to the left-hand margin of the verso) is certainly missing; the top is broken, the foot has a blank of one or two lines which may be the lower margin.

The main elements are:

- (1) 3, *ll.* 2.1 in a small neat informal hand; epsilon once in the cursive form.
 (2) 5, probably *ll.* 2.2-3 in a small delicate serified hand of the same type as XV 1809 (Plato, *GMAW*² 19). *ll.* 2.1 appears among other Homeric tags in the exercise PSI XII 1293 (b); 2.1-2, copied in an amateurish literary script, appear in the margin of the private letter P. Flor. II 259 (see *GLH* 22*d*).

(3) 7-8, complete alphabet, large letters in a primitive (or clumsy) form of 'Roman Uncial'; the same script, but more careless, is used for the ends of 12-13.

(4) 9, *ll.* 1.10 (first part only) in a mannered, narrow script which reduces epsilon and sigma to a width one quarter of their height, comparable e.g. with XXXIII 2663 (Plato) or XXXIV 2683 + LXIV 4405 (Matthew). Some versions of this may be assigned to the first century AD (G. Cavallo, *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri* (2008) 74-5), but the more developed probably belong to the mid- or later second, see P. Dura p. 69, *GMAW*² pp. 22-3.

(5) 15-17 (margin), a thick pen writes a snatch of lyric, informal hand with some ligatures.

Around and about these we find also strings of practice letters, many made with a thin pen. Thus 10 has a chain of formal pi's, then $\pi\pi\pi$ (or perhaps $\pi\pi\pi\sigma$) with cursive forms. ϕ and ψ also are repeated; note the grand psi at the beginning of 10, carefully drawn and inked (the left oblique thicker), with ornamental hooks, tall enough to intrude on the writing in line 9.

The interest of this piece lies in the coexistence of at least four recognizable styles of script, most notably the round ('Roman Uncial') hand of 7-8 and the narrow pointed style of 9. It cannot be proved that both samples were the work of one and the same scribe, though

the pen and ink used look similar (the ink less black in 9). But clearly they are contemporary one with the other, which illustrates the choices available to an ambitious copyist. For similar juxtapositions, see XXXI 2604 verso, LXVIII 4669 verso, and P. Köln IV 175, discussed in A. K. Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (2007) 269–70. Add P. Giss. Lit. 4.9, where also a small neat round hand alternates with attempts at large letters of 'Roman Uncial' type.

The transcript below reproduces the main elements, but not the many strokes and pen-trials that surround them. I owe valuable suggestions to Dr W. B. Henry.

	ξ ξ ξ ξ	
	<i>traces</i>	
[	ραθ	ειτε
	<i>doodles</i>	καιανερ
5	[]	ειτε
	υχε	[]
	[]	νη
	<i>traces</i>	[]
	ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΑΜΝΞΟΠΡΣΤΥΦΧ	
	ΨΩ φ []	Φ
	ουconi	αν[]
10	ΥΨ []	Π Π Π Π ιπππ
	[]	ΛΗ Ψ Ψ ππ
	ΘΥϋ ^π []	σα
	Υ	τηρ []
		περ, ησσω

Upper left, upwards along margin:

traces
(14) [] και φ . . ρατη []

Lower right, downwards along margin:

15 δευτεμεθημων []
ιλαραι τελεσφοροι []
αιπαρε . .

3 ll. 2.1 (and 24.677) ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἵπποκορονται. Before the initial lacuna a long oblique, alien to this hand and in any case too far left to represent the α of ἄλλοι.

4–6 scattered remains on several levels. 4, a deeper space, includes a large Ζ (i.e. a cursive ζ?). 5, remains in a small delicate hand, then, close below, 6, various remains including a large Φ.

III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

5360. LEASE OF LAND (INCORPORATING VIII 1124)

38 3B.86/O(1-3)c(1)
Cambridge UL Add. MS 5897

A 14.2 x 8.6 cm
B 13 x 16 cm

27 October 26
Plate V (A)

The new fragment, A, contains the first eight lines of a lease of land. Its size, folds, hand, and content show that it is the top of the contract whose main part was published as VIII 1124. The new fragment adds the name of the lessee, duration of the lease, and details of the land, crop, and rent. 1124, for which the BL lists no corrections, is re-published here as B, with one major correction (B14-15), some minor improvements, and some new comments. Koenig prepared a preliminary edition which Rathbone has reworked with the benefit of conservation and new readings by Drs Colomo and Meccariello.

The text is written along the fibres. There is a kollesis c.2.5 cm from the right edge. Offsets on both sides of the sheet and damage along vertical fold-lines show that the left-hand edge was folded over for protection and the whole was then rolled up from right to left and squashed giving six panels. There is also a series of horizontal cracks running across, indicating that the papyrus was finally rolled up parallel to the longer side and squashed to form a packet measuring c.2.5 x 4 cm.

This one-year lease of land to be planted with a fodder crop for a low fixed rent in wheat, payable in Payni (June), is typical of Oxyrhynchite lease arrangements of the first century AD as analysed by J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996) 236-42, 252-5, with list at 332-4. It contains all the sixteen formal elements outlined in P. Yale I 70 introd. as standard in private lease contracts at Roman Oxyrhynchus except the optional non-irrigation clause; the list of cases is updated in XLIX 3489 introd., and that papyrus (AD 72) and XLIX 3488 (70) are useful models of the type. This contract also contained a substantial clause (A8-B2) probably detailing specific works to be done, which is another common element in Oxyrhynchite leases. However, the wording of this contract is often much closer to that of SB XII 10942 of 4 BC than to that of later contracts, and the penalty clauses for non-planting and abandonment of the plot are only paralleled in that contract and P. Erl. 69, probably from Oxyrhynchus, which is to be dated after c.100 BC because of the hand and the *κυρία ή συγγραφή* clause and before 30 BC because the fine is to be paid to the royal treasury. These three texts thus represent the form of late Ptolemaic and early Roman leases of land at Oxyrhynchus which differs slightly from the later norm. Other unusual features of this contract are the earliest known use of ἀπότακτον as a substantive (A7-8 n.), and specification of the penalty in silver rather than bronze drachmas (B14 n.).

A

ἐμίςθωσεν Διονύσιος Θέωνος Παυσεριώνι Ἀπολ-
λωνίου Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰς τὸ ἔνεστος τρι-
καιδέκατον] ἔτος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἀπὸ
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ ἑδαφῶν περὶ τὸ Ἴστρου
5 ἐποίκιον τ]ῆς μέσης τοπαρχίας τῶν κατ(ἀ τ)ὸ Ἄνω
Ἰσι]ῆον ἐκ τοῦ Πάτρωνος κλήρου ἀρούρας τρεῖς,
ὥστε ξυλαμῆ]σαι ταύ[τα]ς ἀράκωι ἢ χόρτωι, ἀποτά-
κτου πυροῦ ἀρτ(αβῶν)] τριῶν [c.14].β. .[

B

].ονα [.
νότον. ἀ[κίνδυν]ον δὲ τὸ ἀπότα[κτον παντὸς κιν-
δύνου. ἐ[ὰν] δὲ τι πραχθῆ ὁ με[μικ]θωμένος
εἰς τὸ δη[μ]όσιον ἢ εἰς ἄλλο τι [ὑπ]έρ Διονυσίου
5 ἢ τῆς γῆ[ς ὑ]πολογεῖτω ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀ[π]οτάκτου. τῶν
δὲ κα]ρπ[ῶν] κυριευέτω Διονύσιος [κ]αὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ
ἐ]ω[ς] ἂν τὸ ἀ]πότακτο[ν] κομίσῃται. τῆς δὲ με-
θώσεως βεβαιουμέ[ν]ης ἀποδότω ὁ μεμικθω-
μένος τῷ Διονυσίῳ [τ]ὸ ἀπότακτον ἐν τῷ Παυσι
10 μηνί τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους[ς] ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Τρύφωνος
Ἰσιήου ἄλω[ν] πυρὸν νέο[ν] καθαρὸν ἄδολον ἄκρειθον
μέτρῳ τε[τρ]αχονίκω[ι] Ἀμμων[ί]ου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου,
ἢ ἀποσιάτ[ω] αὐτῷ τιμὴν ἐκάστη[ς] ἀρτάβης ἢς ἐάν
μὴ ἀποδῶ[ι] ἀ]ργυρί[ου] δ]ραχμὰς [] . . , ἢς δ' ἂν μ[ῆ]
15 ξυλαμῆση [τὸ] ἐκφόρ[ι]ον διπλοῦν, τοῦ δ' ἐνκατα-
λιπεῖν τῇ[ν] γε[ωργία]ν χωρὶς τῶν προκειμένων
ἐπίτιμον ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς
ἑκς. καὶ ἡ π[ρ]ῶξις ἔστω Διονυσίῳ ἐκ τε τοῦ μεμικ-
θωμένου [κ]αὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐ[ὰν] αἰρήται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
20 χόντων αὐτῷ πάντων, καθάπερ ἐν δίκῃς. κυρία
ἢ μίςθωσ[ις.] (ἔτους) ἐν [Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,
Φαωφι λ̄.

(m.2) Διονύσιος Θέωνος μεμίθωκα καθότι πρόκειται.
— (ἔτους) ιγ Τ[ι]βηρίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Φαω(φι) λ̄.

A6, B11 l. Ἰσειῶν B11 l. ἀκριθον B15 l. ἑγ- B17 ἀργῖ B20 l. ἄκ
B21, 24 λ B24 φά^{δι}

'Dionysius son of Theon has leased to Pausirion son of Apollonius, Persian of the *epigone*, for the present thirteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, from the lands belonging to him at the [hamlet] Istrou, of the middle toparchy, in the Ano Isieion area, from the allotment of Patron three arouras, to plant these with chickling or hay at a fixed rent of three [artabas of wheat ... (fr. B) to the] south. The fixed rent is free of all risk. If the lessee has to pay anything to the public treasury or for any other purpose an account of Dionysius or the land, he is to deduct it from the fixed rent. Dionysius and his agents are to own the crops until he receives the fixed rent. The lease being guaranteed, the lessee is to deliver the fixed rent to Dionysius in the month of Payni of the same year on the threshing-floors at the Isieion Tryphonos, in wheat that is new, pure, unadulterated, with no barley, by the four-choenix measure of Ammonius son of Ptolemaeus, or he is to pay him as the penalty price of each artaba that he does not deliver [...] silver drachmas, and for each (aroura) that he does not plant double the rent, and for abandoning the cultivation, besides the aforesaid, an extra penalty of a hundred silver dr. and the same sum to the public treasury. And Dionysius shall have the right of execution upon the lessee and whomsoever he chooses and on all his properties as if by a legal decision. The lease is valid. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus. Phaophi 30.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Dionysius son of Theon, have made the lease as aforesaid. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Phaophi 30.'

A1-2 Neither party is yet attested in other documents of the period.

A2 'Persian of the *epigone* (descent)' has generally been taken to be a subordinate legal status, developed in the late Ptolemaic period, which was often assumed by the borrower in contracts of loan. It is now thought to have been a privileged legal status, originally with a military function, in between Egyptian and Macedonian (or Hellenic) status, which was still claimed by parties to contracts of various types into the Roman period; see K. Vandorpe, *APF* 54 (2008) 87-108.

A4-6 For Ano Isieion ('Upper Isis-Temple') and *epoikion* (hamlet) Istrou see *RSON*² 114-15, 122-3, adding the reference to Istrou at 5361 6. Cf. VI 907 (276), a will which includes (8) lands *περί τῷ Ἱερῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἄνω Ἰσειῶν*; this must be the hamlet's full name. These and other indications suggest that the temple and village of Ano Isieion were at the south end of the Lower toparchy; *epoikion* Istrou, of the Middle toparchy, was presumably on the border with the Lower, near the Upper Isis-Temple.

A6 The allotment of Patron is not previously attested.

A7-8 For ἀπότακτον denoting a fixed 'all-in' rent in wheat see Rowlandson, *Landowners* 241. This is the earliest known use of the adjective as a substantive. The next cases are XXXVIII 2874 23 (108; but 13 has ἐκφόριον ἀπότακτον) and SB XX 14338.5 (120).

A7 The verb *ἐυλαμῆσαι* (cf. B15) is typical and distinctive of Oxyrhynchite leases.

A8 Perhaps *πυροῦ* (explicit in B11) was omitted and *ἀρταβῶν* written in full. At 1 artaba per aroura the rent is half the usual rate. Rent is set at 3/4 artaba of wheat per aroura under chickling (or barley) in XLIX 3488 10-14 (70), at 2 artabas in SB XII 10942 (4 BC), PSI IX 1029 (52/3), 3488 21-3 (70), XXI 2351 (112), and XXXVI 2776 (119), and at 2 1/4 artabas in 3489 (72).

A8–B2 The clause which spanned the missing lines and ended 'to the south' (no other interpretation of νότον is possible) may have mentioned some extra payment (e.g. bread as in XLIX 3489 16–17), and almost certainly specified other works which the lessee was to carry out, maybe on land under fallow which perhaps lay to the south of the three arouras leased. For two examples see SB XII 10942.3–10 (4 BC) and XLIX 3488 27–35 (70).

B2–7 The three clauses about risk, taxes, and security are very similarly worded in SB 10942.10–11, 15–21; they are differently phrased in later contracts such as 3488 35–9.

B7–14 The two clauses about payment and penalty price are similarly worded in SB 10942.22–8 and the earlier P. Erl. 69.2–5 (penalty price, with some oddities); later contracts such as 3488 39–51 continue to use this phrasing.

B10–11 For the Isicion Tryphonos ('Isis-Temple of Tryphon'), another temple and village of the Lower toparchy, see *RSON*² 121–2.

B12 A few leases specify the measure to be used for payment, sometimes of a temple, sometimes of the landlord, the tenant, or another private person (e.g. 3489 32); cases are noted in Rowlandson, *Landowners* 331–45. Ammonius son of Ptolemaeus, not identifiable in contemporary texts, was presumably a major landowner in the area.

B14 The penalty price for late or non-payment in Oxyrhynchite leases of the late Ptolemaic to early Roman period is normally expressed in bronze drachmas per artaba of wheat, notionally 450 to the silver drachma, as in P. Erl. 69 (c.100–30 BC), SB XII 10942 (4 BC), XLVII 3352 (68), and XLIX 3488 (70), and also PSI X 1099 (6/5 BC, a sale of wheat in advance); from the later first century AD on, starting with SB X 10532 (87/8), it is normally 50% on top of the rent due.

B14–18 These two clauses about penalties for non-planting and abandonment are also found in P. Erl. 69.5–9 and SB 10942.28–31, but not in any later Oxyrhynchite leases.

B14–15 The ed. pr. gave ἡς δ' ἀπό | ξυλαμῆς κ[αί] ἐκφόριον, on the basis of which Hunt supposed that the lease concerned two pieces of land, one to be under fodder, with separate rents. The new reading (checked on the original) and interpretation bring the text into line with P. Erl. 69.5–7 ἐκάστης [ἀρουρῆς] ἡς ἀν' ἀπαλίση οὐ εἰσὶραε τὸ ἐκφόριον [διπλοῦν], and SB XII 10942.28–9 ἡς δ' εἰς ἀν' ἀπαλίση εἰς ἀσποροῦ τὸ ἐκφόριον διπλοῦν (its editor J. C. Shelton, *TAPA* 101 (1970) 495, suggested ἡ[ό] in place of κ[αί] in 1124 15).

B15–16 The penalty for abandonment in P. Erl. 69.7–9 is twice 500 silver dr., and that in SB 10942.29–31 twice 200 dr.

B18–20 The execution and validity clauses are slightly different from those in P. Erl. 69.9–13, but very similar to those in SB 10942.31–3 and later contracts such as 3488 51–end.

A. KOENIG / D. W. RATHBONE

5361. OFFICIAL LETTER AND PETITION

s 1B.38/G(a)

12.8 x 27.2 cm

c.223
Plate XI

The papyrus is complete at the top and right, and there is a blank space 5 cm deep at the foot below 28. However, the text is incomplete at the left, and the amount lost would appear to be considerable. To judge by the suggestions for 1 and 13 (which, admittedly, are by no means secure), there must have been some 50 letters lost on the left where the loss is at its greatest. This has made it impossible to supply any connected sense. 1-12 are part of an official letter, probably from the town council (of Oxyrhynchus), to more than one addressee (*Αὐρηλίους*, 1), in response to a petition. 13-27 are a copy of this petition. 28 records the action taken by a *ὑπηρέτης* of the council.

The text is of some interest and it is regrettable that it survives in such a damaged state. Petitions to a council are unusual. Apart from Pap. Agon. 1, 4, and 5, I have noted only five examples, three of which are addressed to the council of Antinoopolis asking for the registration of a birth (in P. Amh. II 82, a petition to the prefect refers to an earlier petition to the boule of Arsinoe). In the fourth, XLVI 3286 (222/3), from a petitioner seeking to avoid becoming a gymnasiarch, the address is *Ὀξυρρυχειτῶν τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ διὰ name γυμνασιάρχου ἐνάρχου πρυτάνεως*, and the same is no doubt to be restored in the fifth, XII 1418 (247), where only *ἐν]άρχου πρυτάνεως* survives (against the longer supplement in the ed. pr., cf. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 286 n. 33). This last is the only text I have come across which is at all similar to 5361; unfortunately, it survives in a similarly fragmentary state. In 1418, only the petition is preserved, sent by a councillor of Oxyrhynchus asking for some relief in connection with the appointment of his son to the gymnasiarchy. It is not impossible that 5361 has similarities, in that it refers apparently to undertaking some office (*ἀναδεξαμένου*, 14), to a deceased brother whose heir is the petitioner (16), and to a request for some relief (*ἀνεσις*, 20). Worth comparing is XLVII 3365 (after 241), originally published as P. Coll. Youtie I 65: this is a copy of a sale in which the strategus instructs the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων* of the Oxyrhynchite to take action in response to a petition sent to him asking that they record a sale made to the petitioner, and detailing at great length the property involved. Another document in which a prytanis gives instructions to the property registrars is XLIV 3188 (300). In my opinion, 5361 is also addressed to the property registrars (though this is not certain).

The document falls after the death of Caracalla (April 217) and after he was deified (*θεοῦ*, 17). The date can almost certainly be further narrowed down. 13 refers to an *ἐναρχος πρύτανις* Aurelius Ammonius, and a prytanis with this name is known from Oxyrhynchus for the year 223; although the name is common, there is a very good chance that this is the same man and therefore that the present text dates from c.223.

The back is blank.

...νεως Αὐρηλίου
] Απ[ο]λλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου
 Ἴζον βιβλίδιου Αὐρηλίου Ἀλεξάν-
 δ]ξιούντος συνηρηματίαι ὑ-
 δρου
 5 μᾶς] [] Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος τοῦ
 Τ]ζτροῦ ἐποικίου τῶ κβ (ἔτει) < ὥστε εἰς
 ἐπιστέλλετ]αι ὑμεῖν ἵνα τῶ εἰσῶτων τιμηματι
] των μόνων οἰκονομίαν τηρουμε-
 ν-] αυ, η ἀπό τε τοῦ λοιποῦ πόρου τοῦ τεμε-
 10] Α]λεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος καὶ ἀν ἄλ-
 λων] βουλής ἡμῶν συνεδριον, ἐρρωσθεαί σε εὐχόμε(εθα).
 Date] (vac.)
 Αὐρη]λίου Ἀμμωνίου γυμ(νασιαρχ) ἐνάρχου πρυτάνεως
 Ἀλεξάν]δρου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος ἀναδεξαμένου
 15] . . Αὐρηλίου Διονυσίου γυμ(νασιαρχ) τῆς αὐτῆς πό-
 λεως] ἀδ]ελφός οὗ κληρονόμος εἰμὶ κατὰ τοὺς
 νόμους] ἐποικίου γενήματος κβ (ἔτους) < θεοῦ Σεουήρου
 Ἀντωνίνου] τῆ]ν ἄλλην εὐπορίαν ζῖτων τῆς τεμῆς
] ν αὐτοῦ ἅπερ περιῶν ὑπήλλα-
 20 ξεν] , ἀξιω . . . των τὴν ἀνεκιν
] . . συνηρηματίαι μοι μενον-
 τ-] ὑ]παρχόντων καὶ τῶν ὑποβεβλη-
 μένων] ςφρ[. .] .ας τοῦ δημοσίου πυροῦ λόγων
] καὶ Μυροβαλάνου ἐν τῆ μητροπόλει οἰκίαι
 25] , ἄρουραι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Νεικα-
 . . [.]ς[.]ωνος καὶ Χρυσίππου σειτικάι (ἄρουραι) β γ'ιο
] . . .] .ς κλήρου (vac.) (ἄρουραι) β β'. (vac.)
 Date Αὐ]ρήλιος Πασίωγ βουλευτικὸς ὑπὲρητης
] (vac.)

3 ἀλεξάν- 4, 21 l. συνηρηματίαι 4 ὑ 6, 17 κβδ 7 l. ὑμῶν ἵνα 11 εὐχῶ
 13, 15 γυμῆ 15 πο- 16 l. εἰμὶ 18 l. τιμηῆς 26 l. σειτικάί 26, 27 β

[The excellent council of the Oxyrhynchites through Aurelius Ammonius, (former (?) gymnasium) prytanis (in office), to Aurelii (...) of Apollonius alias Ptolemaeus (...) greeting.] An official copy of the petition of Aurelius Alexander (...) requesting that you issue appropriate documentation [to him ...] of Agathus Daemon (...) of the hamlet of Istrou in year 22 so that [...] is sent to you so that on your

own responsibility [...] only [...] document, [...] being preserved [...] both from the remaining estate [...] of Alexander alias Sarapion and others whose [...] session of our council. We pray for your good health. [Year *n*, ...]

'[To the excellent council of the Oxyrhynchites through] Aurelius Ammonius, (former (?) gymnasiarch, prytanis in office, [from Aurelius Alexander ...] Alexander alias Sarapion having accepted [...] Aurelius Dionysius, (former (?) gymnasiarch of the same city [...] my] brother whose heir I am according to the [laws ...] hamlet (?) of the crop of year 22 of the divine Severus (Antoninus ...) the other abundance of grains [...] the price [...] of him which while he was still alive he mortgaged [...] release [...] issue appropriate documentation to me [...] remaining [...] the existing and the [...] parcels (?) [...] public wheat [...] account (?) [...] and Myrobalanou in the metropolis houses [...] arouras out of the allotment of Apollonius and Nica— [...] arouras, out of the allotment of] —on and Chryssippus 2 1/2 1/2 arouras of cornland [...] out of the] allotment of [...] 2 3/4 arouras. [Year *n*, ... Presented by me,] Aurelius Pasion, assistant to the council.'

1] , ρεωκ. I suggest *πρωτάμεωκ*, which would fit with 13. The tail of rho suits the trace after the lacuna well, but the next three letters are all uncertain. If this is right, I would suggest that the text began with Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν ἡ κρατίστη βουλή διὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμωνίου γυμνασιαρχῆ) ἐνάρχου πρωτάμεωκ, cf. 13, or something similar: as virtually the same text occupies a whole line in 13, something may have dropped out or been omitted here or different abbreviations may have been used. This would indicate a loss at the left of some 50 letters. At any rate, we must have here the name of the sender(s) of the letter.

Αὐρηλιόε. There were at least two recipients, and if the supplement suggested in 3 is correct, I think it likely that these recipients were the officials in charge of the record office, i.e. the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων*; cf. e.g. XLVII 3365 3 and the note to 4–5 below.

2] , may belong to the preceding line.

3] ζρον. Nu is probable and the very slight traces before it would allow ἀντίγραφοι or, more probably, ἔζρον, as supplied above. If this is correct, it is likely to have been the start of the body of the letter sent to the *βιβλιοφύλακες* or whoever were the addressees, preceded by *χαίρειν*; cf. e.g. 3365 2–4.

3–4 *Αὐρηλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου*. This must be the name of the petitioner. He need not be the Alexander also called Sarapion in 10; indeed, it would be somewhat odd if he were. For this name occurring in 14 see the note there.

4–5 *συγγραματίσαι ὑμῶε*. On the meaning of *συγγραματίζω* in similar contexts cf. P. Col. X 252.11–12 n., where it is translated 'issue appropriate documentation'. *αὐτῶ* may have followed: cf. 21.

6]] ετρου ἐποικίρου. See 5360 A4–6 n.

τῶ κβ (ἔτει). This refers to year 22 of Caracalla (213/14); so 17. The date when documents began to regard him as *divinus* is uncertain; immediately after his death a circumlocution was sometimes employed, e.g. P. Lips. I 9 = M. Chr. 211.16 *τῶ μετὰ τὸ κε (ἔτος) θεοῦ Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Μεγάλου γ (ἔτει)*, and P. Flor. I 56 = M. Chr. 241.12–13 *τῶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ | Ἀντωνίνου Μεγάλου αὐτοκρατορίας | δ (ἔτει)*, for 219/220; cf. P. Lips. 9.16 n. *θεοῦ Σεουήρου*, as in the present text (17), referring to Caracalla and not to Septimius Severus, is found in XLIII 3099 i 11 and passim, 3101 14, P. Ryl. IV 599.14–15 *τὸ κδ (ἔτος) [θε]οῦ Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου*, and PSI V 464.5 *θεοῦ Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου* (year lost); cf. also PSI XII 1240 2.23 *κδ (ἔτους) θεοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντωνίνου*. In XVII 2104 2 (see BL II 104) Severus Alexander is described as the son of θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου *Εὐε[εβο]ῦς μεγίστου*, i.e. Caracalla. No doubt Ἀντωνίνου came at the start of 18 in the present text.

7 *ἐπιστελλεται ὑμῶε ἵνα τῶ ἑαυτῶν τιμήματι*. The subject is ἔζρον βιβλιοφύλαδου (3). Cf. 3365 6 *ἐπιστελλεται ὑμῶε ὅπως εἴ τῶ ἀκόλουθάν ἐστιν τῶ ἑαυτῶν τιμήματι πράξεται*. For the reading of]σι, cf. 11 *ἐρρώσθαι*.

The phrase τῷ ἑαυτῶν τιμῆματι is paralleled also by IX 1208 4 (ἑαυ[τ]ῆς) and XII 1562 3 (ἑαυτοῦ). Weinstein in the original publication of 3365 (P. Coll. Youtie I 65) took it to mean 'on your own responsibility', with reference to the βιβλιοφύλακες, an interpretation with which I agree.

8] πωυ. Before ων either tau or lambda; the trace before it might be no more than the top of an upsilon, e.g. τῆν περι τοῦ ἕτων μόνων οἰκονομίαν. More probably τηρουμε- starts a new phrase; cf. the common phrase πρωτοπραξίας τηρουμένης (but the words seem always to be in that order). XVII 2109 15-16 has τηρουμένου λόγου τῆ πόλει, and P. Ryl. IV 701.18 τηρουμένων μου τῶν δικαίωμ.

9] αυ. η. Only a dot for the foot of a letter survives before eta; tau could be read.

ἀπό τε τοῦ λοιποῦ πόρου. Cf. P. Matr. 2.38]ωθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ] μου πόρου.

10 λ]λεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος. As remarked above (3-4 n.), it is very unlikely that this is the name of the petitioner given the context.

11 βου]λης ἡμῶν συνεδριον. We can almost certainly discount the possibility of restoring φ]υλή. For συνεδριον in relation to the βουλή, cf. LVIII 3925 6-7 with Rea's note. He believes the best translation is 'session (of the council)'.
 εε, although the letter has more than one addressee (1 Ἀύρηλιός).

εὐχόμε(εθα). Only the faintest trace of the horizontal bar over the omicron survives.

12 The dates here and in line 28 must have been given in short form: there is no room for a regnal formula.

13 If I have understood the document correctly, this is the beginning of a copy of the petition sent to the council of (presumably) Oxyrhynchus through its prytanis. A possible supplement is Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν τῆ κρατίετη βουλή διὰ κτλ. cf. XII 1418 (see introd. above). A Marcus Aurelius Ammonius, prytanis at Oxyrhynchus in 222/3, is attested in XLVI 3286; called Aurelius Ammonius in I 77 and LVIII 3924 (both 223).

γυμ(νασιαρχ). γυμ(νασιάρχου), if the text dates from 222/3, cf. 3286, or γυμ(νασιαρχήσαντος). Cf. 15.

14 The natural assumption when comparing this with 3-4 is that the petition was sent by Alexander (alias Sarapion); but, apart from the complication of this name occurring in 10, παρά (Μάρκου) Ἀύρηλίου is far too short a supplement in this line. Possibly this is the name of the petitioner's father, or the name of someone acting through Alexander alias Sarapion preceded. If παρά Ἀύρηλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου began the line, and the supplement suggested for 13 is approximately correct, there may be room for a few more letters before Ἀλεξάν]δρου.

ἀναδεξαμένου. On the occurrence of this verb in liturgical contexts see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 58. In P. Ryl. II 77.38-9 (192), a member of the meeting says of a certain Achilles that ἀναδεξάμενος τὴν μείζονα ἀρχήν he ought not to refuse the lesser, and in 48-9 we read of members of the meeting προτρεπομένων αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν κοσμητείαν. Here similarly the verb seems to refer to the acceptance of a certain magistracy or liturgy by Alexander, perhaps replacing Aurelius Dionysius, mentioned in the next line.

15 Ἀύρηλιου Διονυσιου γυμ(νασιάρχου) or γυμ(νασιαρχήσαντος). Cf. I 117 20 and XIV 1762 15.

16 ἀδ]ελφός. Although Φιλάδ]ελφος and Τριάδ]ελφος cannot be ruled out altogether, it seems much more probable that the petitioner is referring to his brother, whose heir he is, cf. P. Stras. VII 649.4-5; supply here ὁ ἐμὸς ἀδ]ελφός?

For ἀληρονόμος κατὰ τοὺς νόμους cf. e.g. VIII 1121 13-14, XVII 2133 10, XIX 2231 25-6, CPR V 99. P. Leid. Inst. 54.5 and note ad loc.

17 ἐπο]κίου γενήματος. ἐπο]κίου (see 6) looks inevitable in the context, though πετ]κίου (or πεκ]κίου) might be a possibility; cf. P. Cair. Isid. 40 (306-7 (?)), a receipt for delivery by the sitologi of

π[ι]τικίου (ἀρτάβας) ὑπ(έρ) γενή(ματος) ιε (έτους), for baking bread. On πικτίων (emmer) see P. Cair. Isid. II introd., p. 107. The gamma of γενήματος is only half the height of the other letters.

17-18 κβ (έτους) ς θεού Σεουήρου [[Αντωνίου. Cf. 6 n.

18 εζταν. ι is very close to τ, as in 22 και τάν. We find εετ- in 26, but the variation seems possible: cf. 18 τεμ- but 7 τιμ-.

19-20 ἀπερ περιών ὑπέλλα[[ξεν. This appears to be a statement about a mortgage of property made by someone who has subsequently died, probably the brother of line 16. On *hypallagma*, see the introduction to CPR XVIIIA 5a.

20 άξιω . . . των τήν άνεειν. After αξιω the reading before των is unclear; best, I think, is άξίως. On άνεειν see P. Giss. 59, BGU XV 2474.9-10 n. It is sometimes but not always used of (temporary?) release from a liturgy. In P. Ryl. II 84 v. 5-6 (after 1 August 201), an official orders τήν άνεειν τήν διά τούτο γενομένην τών ύπαρχόντων γενέσθαι if the debts (to the *fiscus*) have been paid.

21 μενον-. If initial mu is correctly read, we no doubt have here a genitive absolute with the present participle of μένω and a suitable noun.

22 ὑποβεβλη[[μένων. The verb is used several times of nomination to an office (often wrongfully done), cf. my note in ZPE 88 (1991) 122 n. 5; but this seems an unlikely use of the word here, where it is most naturally taken to be neuter plural.

23 εφρ[. . .], γε. If the small fragment at the left is fitted correctly, as it would seem to be, εφρ[αγί]δας can be read.

24 Μυροβαλάνου: an amphodon at Oxyrhynchus (a βύμη in SB XXIV 16011.7).

οίκιαi was no doubt followed by a number in the next line.

25 Απολλωνίου και Νεικα-. Νεικά[[νορος would be possible. There is no example of a *kleros* with this name from the Oxyrhynchite nome: BGU XIII 2340.7-8 has ἐκ το[ῦ] Απολλωνίου [και . . .] α . . . ου κλήρου, but Νεικά[[νδρου cannot be supplied in our passage as it would give an impossible division at line-end. In XII 1458 v., a *kleros* Νεικάν[ορος] or Νεικάν[δρου] occurs; and there is a *kleros* Νεικάνδρου in II 273 16-17.

26 Nor is there any attestation of a *kleros* [. . .] ιε[. . .]ωνος και Χρυσίππου (assuming this is the name of a *kleros*); but a *kleros* Χρυσίππου in the Oxyrhynchite is attested in SB XX 14385.13-14.

28 There are some half-dozen attestations of an Aurelius Pasion at Oxyrhynchus in the third century, but there is no good reason to think that any of them is our man. A βουλευτικός ὑπηρέτης is attested elsewhere in I 59 22 (with BL I 313) and P. Princ. II 30.7 and SPP XX 54 = W. Chr. 402 i 12, ii 14-15 (both Hermopolis).

29 Unless the verb preceded the name it will have come in this line, e.g. ἐπήνεγκα, as in 59.

J. DAVID THOMAS

5362. LETTER TO THE STRATEGI OF THE HEPTANOMIA

29 4B.46/B(1-5)a back

18 x 16.6 cm

After 127/8

Plate XII

This document is written on the back of the lease of irrigation works published as LXXXII 5320, but it has no apparent connection with that text. As 5320 includes the date 227/8, we may assume that 5362 was written after that date. It is complete at the top, foot, and right, but incomplete at the left. It contains a copy of a letter to the strategi of the Heptanomia from an official of the central administration. The name and office of the sender do not survive,

but he must be the prefect. Following several earlier reprimands about the purity of the grain supplied to Alexandria, he is writing to ensure that the strategi, sitologi, episphragistai, and perhaps other relevant officials in their nomes properly clean and store the tax-grain from the forthcoming harvest (*συνκο[μ]ιζομένων νέων*, *ς*), so that it is 'pure' when it is delivered to the Nile transports. The details of the letter are lost, but the strategi are no doubt being threatened with punishments if they continue to be negligent (note *κίνδυνον*, *ς*). The letter ends with the instruction usual in communications from the prefect to see to it that copies of his letter are exhibited in the cities and villages of the relevant nomes. Somewhat similar is BGU I 15 ii (197), a reprimand from the prefect to the strategi of the Heptanomia concerning the supply of donkeys for transporting grain. SB XII 11082 (138–61) and especially IV 708 = *W. Chr.* 432 (188) also attest government dissatisfaction with the purity of wheat consignments to Alexandria that have been contaminated with barley or dirt.

What survives is written in a competent hand, but by a rather careless writer. There are a number of corrections in a second hand.

- c.17 στρατη]γοῖς Ἑπτὰ Νομῶν καὶ Ἀρκενοείτου χωρὶς
 Ὀάσειω χαίρειν.
 περὶ τῆς τοῦ πεμφθέντος εἰς τὴν λ[α]μπροτ[ά]την Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πυροῦ καθα-
 ριότητος ὁσάκις ὑμεῖν πρότερον
 ἐπέστειλα, ἃ μὲν ὑμᾶς τοῦ κρ[α]τ[ί]στ[ου] ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Νέας Πόλεως αἰτιασα-
 μένου[ε], ἃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν
 c.32] ἀνα(με)μετρημένα εἰδῶν, οὐκ ἀγν[ο]εῖτε,
 ἵνα δὲ κἂν ἰς τοῦτιον
 5 c.20]... ἐπακ[ο]λουθοῦντ[ε]ς κίνδυνον ἔκ[κ]φύγητε τῶν συν-
 κο[μ]ιζομένων νέων
 c.20]... ν... [.]. προαγορεύω πάνσιν ὑμεῖν τε καὶ τοῖς σειτολό-
 γοις καὶ ἐπισφρα-
 γισταῖς c.14]... [.]. πα... ο... εἰκάστου ὀφλόμενον μέτρον κε-
 κορσινειμένον
 c.23]... λαμβάνειν τε καὶ ἰς τοὺς δημοσίους θησαυροὺς
 ἀποθεμε-
 ν c.31 π]υρὸν μεταχειριζομ[ε]νων εἶχεν κα[.]. [.]. ἐν
 ὁμοίως προς
 10 c.30]... ἰς τῆ κατακομιδῇ στ[ρ]ατιωτικοῖς ἀνδράσι
 π[α]ραδιδόναί
 c.21]... [.]. κμένων οἱς τοὺς γόμεους ὁ[μοιο]μοίους καὶ
 κατὰ μηδέν

c.20 } . [.] α [.] . μετὰ ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα ἄλογον καὶ μὴ
οἶον ἐκέλευσα
c.23 } [.] . . . [.] . [.] » καὶ ἐνυβρίζων τῇ ριτοσομπίᾳ
τῆς βασιλίδος
c.37 πτό]λεσιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις
προ{ } τεθῆτω. ἐρῶσθεσθαι
15 ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεαι. } (vac.)
Date } (vac.)

1 l. Ἀρσινοῖτου 2, 6 ὑμειν; l. ὑμῖν 3 ν[θ]ασπολ[α]ωσ (corrections by 2nd hand)
4 l. ιδῶν ἰνα 4, 8 l. εἰς 5 l. ενγ- 6 εἰτολογασι; l. εἰτο- 9 l. μεταχειριζομένων
12 αλων (correction by 2nd hand) 14 l. ἐρῶσθεσθαι

[...] to the strategi of the Seven Nomes and the Arsinoite except the Oasis, greeting. You are not unaware how often [I have given] you [instructions] in the past [concerning the] purity of the grain [sent to] the most splendid Alexandria, [in some cases because the] excellent *procurator Neaspoleus* had accused [you], and in other cases because I had myself seen the [...] of the [...] measured out [...], and in order that in the future also [...] supervising [...] you may escape danger, the fresh [grain] being gathered in [...], I direct all, both you and the sitologi and episphragistai [...] of each [...] the measure liable to be paid, sifted [...] to take and having stored (it) in the public granaries keep [a watch on those?] who handle the grain [...] similarly [...] to deliver (it) to [the] military men [who are assigned?] to the bringing down (of the grain) [...] to which the cargoes similar and in no respect [...] after this letter of mine [...] without reason and not as I ordered [...] and doing violence to the corn transport of the ruling city [...] let it be exhibited [in the] cities and in the villages. [I pray for your] good health [...]

1 The name of the prefect is to be supplied at the beginning of the line.

χωρὶς Ὀάσεως. The (Small) Oasis is similarly excluded in SPP XX 6.4 and BGU I 15 ii 2 (Αύσεως).

2–3 The gap on the right in l. 1 on the other side was estimated to hold 30 letters (5320 i n.). The corresponding gap on the left suggested above for l. 2 of this text would be 23 letters long, and that suggested for 3 would be 22 letters long, but the divergence is unexceptionable: the hand on this side is somewhat larger, and the left-hand margin on this side was probably wider than the right-hand margin on the other side, just as the preserved left-hand margin on the other side is much wider than the preserved right-hand margin on this side. The supplement suggested for 3 accounts for the corruption in the preserved text: αἰτιασαμένου became αἰτιασαμένουσ through the influence of the preceding masculine accusative plural ὑμᾶς.

2 καθαριότητος. καθαριότης has only occurred once before in papyri, in P. Har. II 193.7–8 (r.182–4), where a man is appointed to a liturgy described as ἐπι καθαριότητος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. The editor takes him to have been in charge of supervising street cleaning.

For the processes and procedures used to check the weight and purity of grain consignments in the ancient world, and especially in Roman Egypt, see G. Geraci, 'Sekomata e deigmata nei papiri come strumenti di controllo delle derrate fiscali e commerciali', in V. Chankowskij & P. Karvonis (edd.), *Tout vendre, tout acheter. Structures et équipements des marchés antiques* (2012) 347–63.

3 For the *procurator Neaspoleus*, see LX 4069 introd.; cf. A. Jördens, *Stathalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (2009) 199–200. For a letter from this *procurator* to the strategi of the Heptanomia, see BGU I 8 (248).

8 δέ. For δ μὲν ..., δ δέ ..., supplied above, cf. e.g. P. Petaus 18.12–14 (185) τῶν δοθέντων μοι βιβλιδίων παρά τινων βουλομένων | ἀνήσασθαι ἂ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου [λό]γου ἐπιτροπῆς, ἂ δὲ ἀπὸ | ὑπαλόγου.

4 κἂν ἱε τοῦπιόν. For τοῦπιόν cf. in particular I 83 14 and XVII 2131 14, where it is preceded by εἰς.

5 κίνδυνον εἰ[κ]φύγητε. Cf. e.g. SB XIV 11863.52 (Severan edict) οὐ τὸν τυχόντα κίνδυνον ὑφ[ε]ξει.

6–7 κειτολόγοι and ἐπιεφραγισταί are also associated in P. Köln II 94 (213), CPR XXIII 10 (218), SB X 10270(42) (228), and VI 9310 r. (229). On the office of ἐπιεφραγιστής, see CPR XXIII 10.2 n.

7 ο: perhaps γό. ὑπέρ is not a possible interpretation of the traces that follow, and it is unclear what ἐκάτου refers to. P. Cair. Goodsp. 14.5 has μέτρον δημοσίου εἴτου καθαρωτάτου.

8 | καταλαμβάνει?

9 π|υρόν. Not θρα|υρόν: the tail of the alpha would have been visible on the left.

The letter after κα[.] has a long descender, then one or two letters are missing before εν.

After ομοι a medial point, which can hardly serve as punctuation here; presumably a chance ink mark.

10 This line is written along one of the folds and is badly rubbed and frayed. The lacuna on the left, about thirty letters long, will no doubt have held the article τοῖς and probably also the participle of a verb (e.g. ἐπακολουθοῦσιν, cf. 5) governing the dative τῇ κηρακομιδῇ, but it does not seem possible to read]... οἰς at the start for the participial termination -μένοις: the first two traces are negligible, but a low trace close to ι is the lower end of an oblique descending from left to right, representing perhaps e.g. α or π.

11 The reference of οὗ is unclear.

11–12 E.g. καὶ κατὰ μῆδέν | [διαφέροντας (WBH)].

12–13 The general sense will be 'If anyone after this letter of mine fails to act as I have commanded, he will be punished as (...) and doing violence to the corn transport', e.g. [ε]ἰ ἀ[ν] δέ τις κα[.] μετὰ ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα ..., δίκην ὑφέξει ὡς ... Cf. P. Lips. II 145.76–8 (189), a letter to the strategē of the Herpetanomia: εἴ τις μετὰ ταῦτά μου | [τὰ γράμματα] εἴξει[λε]χθεῖ[η] ἢ ἐκ' ἰλέπτων τ[ισ]ῶς ἢ τοῦ λογισητρίου ἀφειμένως, | [δίκην ὑπέρ τ]ῆς ἀπικ[τ]είας ὑφ[ε]ξεί. (As WBH notes, γράμματα rather than διατάγματα is to be supplied there in 77: the plural διατάγματα is unjustifiable, whereas γράμματα would be correctly used of a single communication.)

12 ἄλογον, the reading after correction, is a common word in papyri, though we have not found an exact parallel: cf. e.g. P. Cair. Isid. 73.15 (314) μερικμοῦς ἀλόγ[ου]. We have considered rejecting the correction by the second hand and emending instead to ἀλλ(λ)οῖον. The word is very rare in papyri but turns up e.g. in the private letter P. Oslo II 49.7 (11), where it seems to mean 'less favourable'. But a euphemism of this kind seems less likely in an official letter.

13 Only the tops of letters survive at the left.

τῆς βασιλίδας: i.e. Rome. Cf. P. Oslo III 77.20 (169–76?), and generally P. Jena II 15.2 n.

14 Probably ἐν τε ταῖς (μητρο)πρό]λεξι, although the actual wording may have differed slightly.

προ{ } τεθήτω. The letter after προ has been deleted: it was probably theta. Perhaps the writer at first intended to write πρόθεσ.

15 βούλομαι may be supplied in place of εὔχομαι; cf. XII 1408 20 (212–14), P. Lips. 145.85.

J. DAVID THOMAS

5363. LATIN MILITARY DOCUMENT

100/39(d) front

6.7 × 13.2 cm

247-9 or 244-9

Plate V

A fragment with text written along the fibres, broken on all sides. The Greek medical recipe LXXX 5244, obtained from one Julianus from Caesarea (6-7), is written on the back, with its text running in the same direction.

A line of uncertain content (2) written in large square capitals is followed by text reminiscent of military strength reports, written in cursive (3-4). Traces apparently belonging to a further line of text (2a), now mostly lost, can be seen in the lower part of 2; it is not clear whether this line or 2 was written first. 5-6, in 'Rustic Capitals', include a reference to the erection of some structure, and possibly to Caesarea, mentioned in the recipe on the other side; three lines of cursive follow, with references to various officials and to a response (7-9). After a blank space (10-11), we have some further lines of cursive (12-16), containing a past-tense narrative with a reference to the two Philips (14).

The alternation of 'Rustic Capitals' and cursive is familiar in military documents (cf. e.g. ChLA X 411, XLII 1213, XLIII 1244). 5-6 may then form a heading in relation to what follows, although there is nothing in the content of the text to suggest such a function. 2 also may have a similar purpose, but the use of large square capitals there seems hard to parallel, and the presence of 2a would be hard to explain on this hypothesis. The hand of 2 recalls rather the 'inscriptions on papyrus' PSI XIII 1307 v., P. Mich. VII 439 v., and XLI 2950, written in similar large capitals (P. J. Parsons, *JRS* 69 (1979) 135). We may wonder then whether we have here the remains of more than one text. Another possibility (suggested by Prof. Parsons) is that this is a writing exercise, made up of fragments of text that the scribe had in his head. But we have provisionally assumed in what follows that the legible text belongs to a document.

To judge by the numbers of *centuriae* and *turmae* (?) apparently mentioned, 3-4 may be concerned either with a legion and an *ala* or with several auxiliary units, but they are more likely to relate to a *vexillatio*. On the structure and command of *vexillationes*, see e.g. R. Saxe, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian* (1967); T. Sarnowski, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire* (1995) 323-8. As noted above, the papyrus may well be associated with Caesarea.¹ The narrative prose in the lower part of the text (cf. 9, 13-16) could then be a report of events in the military unit(s) or camp at Caesarea involving the entourage of the emperors (Philippi). The recipe written on the back of this fragment may have been copied in Caesarea when the document had been discarded, and then brought to Oxyrhynchus by a veteran.

¹ There is no secure attestation of such a military presence in Oxyrhynchus itself or in the nome at this period, although some cohorts appear to have been stationed in the vicinity, such as the *ala Apriana*, garrisoned in the Small Oasis and probably identical to the *ala Apriana Philipporum* mentioned in LXIX 4746, and the *cohors III (or II) Ituraeorum*; see e.g. VII 1022; J. D. Thomas, 'Latin Texts and Roman Citizens', in A. K. Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (2007) 231-43 at 235.

I would like to thank Prof. Bowman, Prof. Thomas, Dr R. S. O. Tomlin, and Prof. F. Mithof for their helpful suggestions.

.
] . [
] M [
 2a] [
] . e III (centuriae) XXVIII in his . [
] ds IIII reliqui [
 5 A] D ERECTIONEM V [
] LICANIS AD ORAM CA [
] m a procuratoribus comitibus [
] . a tribuno a (centurionibus) et ab officialibus [
] . a adsentibus sibi responsum [
 10] [
] [
 c]ommilitonibus [
 m]ibuniciam suam processit [
] a d(ominorum) n(ostriorum) Philipporum Aug[ustorum]
 15] tibus sibi commilitonibus [
 c]astris int adgr[.] [
] [
] . [] b [

37 877 14 ddiin

'... 3, centuries 28; among these, centurions (?) ... 4; remaining ...

'... to the erection of ... Gallic (?) ... to the border (or: shore) ...

'... by the *procuratores comites* (?) ... by the tribune, by the centurions, and by the officials (?) ... assenting (?) to him (or: them) responded ...

'... fellow-soldiers ... his (or: their) tribunician (power (?)), he (?) advanced (?) ... of our lords the Philippi Augusti ... to him (or: them), fellow-soldiers ... camp ...'

1] : a speck on a strip projecting above the first upright of M (2).

2] The last four are uprights, the second thicker than the rest: some or all of them may be numerals. At the start, apparently] A or] R.

M [, damaged on the right, has an upright left-hand side, and its obliques meet well above the line: cf. e.g. IGLS XVII.1 121 (AD 293-303).

2a On either side of a stripped area, apparently tops and bottoms of letters written in the space occupied by the lower part of 2. The count is uncertain. The first is an ascending oblique that crosses the line over III (3), e.g. the remains of 7. I have considered taking this to represent X, giving XIII in line 3 in place of III; then the descending oblique would have been flattened to join the line over III. But while X may have its second oblique flattened in such cases, we should expect it to join the top of I, not the overline, written after the letter to which it applies; and the ascending oblique would be expected to begin regularly at the baseline, and not, as here, high in the line. Cf. e.g. ChIA XLIV 1298 a.6, 9; T. Vindol. IV 857.14.

3-4 These lines (but not what follows: see introd.) recall strength reports, on which see A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *JRS* 81 (1991) 63-6, in the first edition of T. Vindol. II 154, supplemented in the introduction to the edition in T. Vindol. II, adding T. Vindol. IV 857; M. A. Speidel, *Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit* (2009) 283-304.

3] .e. At the start, on the line, the end of an oblique descending from left to right. A seems a possible reading (so e.g. *turm|ge?*), but apparently not n (for *legio|ne III*, cf. 6 n.), as we should expect to see part of the second upright.

[: a long thin oblique reaching the line below, probably 7 representing (*centuriones*). The number would have followed. For the form of the abbreviation, cf. 8. In strength reports, *in his* usually introduces a list of men, in the nominative, often starting with centurions (*ordinati, centuriones*). See e.g. Rom. Mil. Rec. 47 i 1; 63 ii 15.

4] *ds*. For the shape of the first letter, cf. esp. 14 *dd*. A possible expansion is *d(is)centes* (*signiferum*), a nominative parallel to *reliqui*. For the abbreviation, cf. CIL VIII 2568, 2569, 18086; A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (1967) 45. The same resolution is possible at Rom. Mil. Rec. 23.19] *ds*: see n.

5 V] [. At the end of the line, two high dots close together and a further speck above the first, compatible with the narrow loop of R (e.g. *VR|BIS*); A (for *VA|LLI*) seems excluded.

6] *LICANIS*. Perhaps *GAL|LICANIS*, of soldiers or troops: cf. e.g. *Amm. Marc.* 23.5.25, 25.4.13, 30.10.1. One may wonder whether the reference is to the *Legio III Gallica*, whose precise whereabouts at the time are unclear: cf. E. Dąbrowa, 'Legio III Gallica', in Y. Le Bohec, C. Wolff (edd.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire* (2000) 309-15 at 313. (*PVB|LICANIS* seems less likely.)

ORAM CA] *CA|ESAREAE* is an obvious guess, since Caesarea is mentioned in the recipe on the other side (5244 7) and is a coastal city. For a brief account of the history of the city and of excavations on the site, see B. Isaac in *CIIP* II pp. 17-35. Archaeological discoveries include the residence of the financial procurator of the Province of Judaea/Palaestina (ibid. 21-2): cf. 7 *procuratoribus*.

7] *m* a *procuratoribus comitibus*]. After *comitibus*], perhaps a reference to Philip alone or to Philip and his son: *imp(eratoris)|imp(eratorum) Philippi|Philipporum*, or simply *Augusti|Augustorum*; sometimes the campaign is also mentioned, e.g. *II|Jug III 2076.8-10 co|mitti Imp|p. Severi et Anto|nini in B|ritannia*; I. Eph. III 657.3-5 *comiti expeditionis Orientalis | domini n. Seve|ri | Alexandri | Pii | Felici Augusti*. See e.g. also CIL XII 1856; I. Piso, *An der Nordgrenze des römischen Reiches* (2005) 375-400, esp. 381-90. In the middle of the third century, *comes* still means 'companion', usually a companion of the emperor during his campaigns or travels outside Italy. This honour was given to senators as well as equestrians. Although *procuratores comites* are not attested as such, in the third century, high-ranking *procuratores* occasionally commanded *vexillationes* (e.g. CIL VI 41271), or were given extraordinary powers or replaced the governor of a province as *vice praesidis* (e.g. CIL III 1456; XIII 1807), and some were included among the *comites* of the emperor. High-ranking procurators such as the *procuratores a rationibus, ab epistulis, a cognitionibus*, etc. were also part of the retinue of the emperor at least until c. 240. It is not clear whether they simply became invisible or were not part of the entourage of the emperor in campaign any more after

this date, see I. Mennen, *Power and Status in the Roman Empire, AD 193–284* (2011) 145–6, 150–51, 155; also F. Amarelli, *Consilia principum* (1983) 123.

8 a *tribuno*. It is unclear which kind of tribune is meant (*laticlavus* or *angusticlavus*), but the fact that only one tribune is mentioned suggests that 5363 may be concerned with a *vexillatio*. According to R. Saxon, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian* (1967) 120–23, senatorial officers, including *tribuni laticlavi*, acted as commanders of legionary *vexillationes* up to the time of Gallienus, while *vexillationes* of auxiliary troops were headed by *tribuni angusticlavi* or other equestrian officers. The rule was not absolute and equestrians are attested as commanders of legionary *vexillationes* already during the Marcomannic wars, but they all headed only detachments from their own provinces, especially when the *vexillatio* was formed of troops from different provinces. They bear the title of *praepositus* or, for important *vexillationes*, that of *dux*. Although *tribuni laticlavi* still existed under Philip, they already tended to be replaced by equestrian tribunes in many functions, see Mennen (7 n.) 143, and e.g. I. Eph. III 737.

9 *adsentibus*. The third letter is represented by an upright with an oblique final to the left at the top; a greyer oblique ascending from left to right emerges from the top of the upright, and we have taken this as the remains of ink (so *s* rather than *i*). The participle of *adsum* is not attested, *praesens* being used instead: cf. e.g. E. D. Francis, *YCS* 23 (1973) 40–41. Perhaps *adsent(ientibus)*, ‘agreeing’, was intended.

12 *cl[em]militonibus*: see J. E. Lendon, *ZPE* 157 (2006) 270–76, on the usage of this term.

13 *tribuniciam*: possibly *potestatem tribuniciam*.

14 *dominorum* *n(ostorum)* *Philipporum Augustorum*. Philip II is first mentioned alongside his father in an Egyptian papyrus on 13 October 244 (P. Stras. III 144.21–2); Philip I is still mentioned alone in PSI XII 1238.37–8 of 2 September 244. The last Egyptian papyrus to date by the Philips is dated to 22 September 249 (P. Harris I 80.39–41); BGU XIX 2833.1, of 28 September – 27 October 249, dates by Decius. Philip II’s *dies Augusti* is placed between 11 July and 29 August 247, but he and his father may jointly have been called *Augusti* before that point: cf. XII 1556 13 Σεβασ[τῶν], in a text dated to 3 January 247; AE 1973.561 refers to the pair as *Augusti* and to Philip II as *Caesar*. It is possible, then, but not certain that the present document is to be dated after Philip II’s *dies Augusti*. See C. Körner, *Philippus Arabis* (2002) 68–70, and for other examples of this titulature, M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235–284* (1990) 222; also X. Lorient, *ANRW* II.2 (1975) 791–2; D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (1996) 200.

15 *tribus sibi*: perhaps *adsentibus sibi*, as in 9.

16 *int* WBH suggests *intimavit*, ‘made known’. After *int*, we have an upright with no decoration at its foot, so *i* rather than e.g. *r*, then confused traces on a damaged patch, a trace on the line, traces suggesting *u* (cf. e.g. 13 *suam*), and finally traces compatible with *it* (cf. 12).

17. An upright hooked to the left at the foot; *n* is also possible.

5364. TAX RECEIPT

104/127(b)

11 x 19 cm

Late fourth century
Plate XIII

Two *κεφαλαιωταί* acknowledge that a *κεφαλαιωτής Ἰουδαίων* has paid them his 'proper share'. The purpose of the payment is not stated, but there is little doubt that it concerned a tax. It is unclear whether the *κεφαλαιωτής Ἰουδαίων* pays as a representative of his group, the Jews of Οχρῆνχus, or on his own behalf; for speculation see below, 7 n. His function was known from an Arsinoite papyrus of later date but the context was obscure (see further 4-5 n.). It is a pity that the word that would have specified the area of authority of the first two *κεφαλαιωταί* is damaged. The text is not exactly dated, but may be assigned to the later fourth century on palaeographical grounds; cf. XLVIII 3424 (c.357 or c.372), SB XVIII 13916 (386), X 1329 (399).

The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

Ἡλίας καὶ Ἀφροῦς
 κ[εφαλαι]ωταί α. . . []
 η/ ἰνδικτίων[ος
 Ἰσιδώρου κεφαλωτῆ Ἰουδαί-
 5 ων χαίρειν. ἔσχασμεν παρὰ
 σοῦ ὑπὲρ η/ ἰνδικτίωνος
 τὸ ἐροῦν σοι μέρος πλήρης
 καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἔχομεν
 πρὸς σοί.
 (vac.)
 10 Ἀφροῦς καὶ Ἡλίας
 εσσημιώμεθ(α). Φαωφι θ.

4 ἰσιδωρου I. κεφαλαιωτῆ 5 παρα: π. corr. from υ 7 I. αἰροῦν 9 I. εἰ
 11 εσσημιωμεθ; I. εσσημιώμεθα

'Elias and Apphus, headmen ... of the 8th indiction, to ... son of Isidorus, headman of the Jews, greeting. We received from you for the 8th indiction your proper share in full, and have no argument against you.

'We, Apphus and Elias, have signed. Phaophi 9.'

1-2 Ἡλίας καὶ Ἀφροῦς] κ[εφαλαι]ωταί α. . . [Cf. 10. Apphus may also be present in X 1330 (1v/v), a receipt ὑπὲρ λόγου συνταλίας issued by Ἀφροῦς καὶ Ἡράκλει κεφ[αλω]ωταί. The function of Elias and Apphus was followed by a word now mostly lost. The mention of the current indiction may suggest that this was the name of a tax or other charge, but I am not aware of any parallels. On the other hand, there are references to headmen of professional associations that fit this pattern (I owe the observation to

C. Balamoshev; cf. P. Lips. I 89.2 (Herm.; late iv) κεφαλ[α]ιωτῆς ταρκακάρων η ἰνδικ(τίωνος); sim. P. Vind. Tandem 19.4. 11 (Heracl.; v). We might then consider reading ἀλ[ι]ε[ί]ων.

κεφαλαιωταί are described with reference to an indiction also in P. Lips. I 48–53 (but in connection with a place in the endorsements of 48–50) and SB XVIII 13251 (572), but these are former postholders, and the indictions indicate the years when they held office. On κεφαλαιωταί see most recently L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden* (2017) 125–9.

4–5 κεφαλωτῆῖ Ἰουδαίων. The office was previously known from SPP VIII 1299 = CPJ III 506, originally thought to be Hermopolite and assigned to the fifth/sixth century, but shown subsequently to be part of the dossier of Theon, and thus Arsinoite and of the early sixth century (TM ArchID 208 = 335). The first two lines as printed in CPJ read *Θείων Νειλάμμων τ[ῶ]ν | κεφ(αλαιωτῆῖ) Ἰουδαίων ὑπὲρ τῆ;*; the note to l. 1 suggests that 'the restoration may be τ[ῶ]ν καὶ δεῖνα [sic]; in this case the Jewish *kephalaioites* had two names'. But Neilammon need not have been the κεφαλαιωτῆς; a person of this name occurs as a βοηθός in an order to pay issued by Theon (SPP VIII 990), and much is lost to the right. Perhaps Theon orders Neilammon to pay something to the κεφαλαιωτῆς (cf. A. Papathomas, 'Το αρχεῖο του Θεώνος', in B. Mandilaras (ed.), *Διεθνές Συμπόσιο Αρχαϊκῶν. Αρχαία και προοπτικές στη νέα χιλιετία* (2001) 55). (Some minor corrections to this text may be appended here. As the image shows, the text starts with a cross, not transcribed in the ed. pr. The ed. pr. has τῆς ... ἰνδικτίωνος in 2; these restorations were rejected in CPJ III 506.2 n., though not for the right reasons; at any rate, it would be too bold to print ἰνδικτίωνος, but τῆς may be a possible reading. In 3, the date is Φαρμουθι δ, not δ [WBH].)

In the CPJ re-edition, the κεφαλαιωτῆς was seen as the 'president of a guild or a corporation ... Some group of Jews (perhaps occupied in some trade or profession) are likened here to a corporation'. A fourth-century petition from Karanis stems from a collective body (the term is lost) of Jews represented by their headmen: τῶν Ἰουδαίων δι' ἡμῶν τῶν κεφαλαιωτῶν (P. Mich. inv. 6036.2; I am grateful to W. G. Claytor for drawing it to my attention). κεφαλαιωταί headed and acted as representatives of κοινά, professional associations: cf. SB XVIII 13916.4–7 (Oxy.; 386) τὰ κοινὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργ[α]σίας τῶν λαο[μ]ῶν (read by WBH) ... δι' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένω(ν) κεφαλαιωτῶ[ν]. To judge from PSI XII 1265 (426), the main concern of κεφαλαιωταί was tax collection, and it is in this role that we find them e.g. in SB 13916 or 1330, mentioned above. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung* 129 with n. 30, rightly sees a tax-collecting function in the official in CPJ III 506. It would thus appear that in fiscal terms the Jewish community functioned like a κοινόν, a corporate entity.

A κοινόν of Jews may occur in a document of 309 addressed to the strategus of Oxyrhynchus [παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων (P. CtYBR inv. 760.5, to appear in *JJP* 47 (2017); my thanks to C. Balamoshev for showing me a draft edition); the word is mostly lost, but the supplement suits space and trace better than alternatives such as *κυνόδο*]. However, no other reference to a κοινόν τῶν Ἰουδαίων is known; κοινόν corresponds to Lat. *collegium*, and the traditional view has been that Jewish synagogues in Rome were classified as *collegia* (see e.g. E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian* (1976) 132–6). Yet this relies on inference rather than on unequivocal evidence: no ancient source explicitly refers to a Jewish *collegium*, and the notion has been challenged; see among others M. H. Williams, 'The Structure of the Jewish Community in Rome', in M. Goodman (ed.), *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World* (1998) 215–28, esp. 215–21 (= *Jews in a Graeco-Roman Environment* (2013) 111–24). (The proposal to restore [*collegium*] *Judaeorum* in CIJ 533.1 has been contested by A. Avidov, *Not Reckoned among Nations* (2009) 179 n. 325.) It is also worth noting that Jews (Ἑβραῖοι) are listed among professional associations in a Hermopolite document of the early eighth century (P. Heid. inv. G 150; see CPR XXII p. 284 n. 2).

On the Jewish community of Oxyrhynchus in late antiquity, see E. J. Epp in T. J. Kraus, T. Nicklas (edd.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (2006) 34–46.

7 τὸ ἐροῦν σοι μέρος πλήρης. Cf. SB 13916.12–14 τὴν αἰρούσαν καὶ ἐπιβέλλουσαν σοι ἐντελε[α]ν ταῦ πραγματευτικοῦ χρυσαργύρου τῆς ἐδ ἰνδικ(τίουτος); X 1331 2–4 ὑπὲρ συντερίας τῆς κειφαλῆς τὰ ἐροῦντά(ς) σοι πρήλης (l. ἐντελείας, κεφαλῆς, αἰρούντα, πλήρης). On the face of it, this concerned the person of the κεφαλαιωτῆς Ἰουδαίων rather than the Ἰουδαῖοι, but (in an urban environment) what would this tax be? If it were a tax specific to the Jews, at this date it would be the *aurum cotoparium* (cf. S. Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society: 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* (2009) 115–17); but in that case our κεφαλαιωτῆς would have collected the tax from the others in his group and paid it to the authorities. The two other κεφαλαιωταί would have been the intermediaries, and would have collected more than the taxes paid by the Jews. Alternatively, the person who happens to be a 'headman of the Jews' pays a trade tax to the two headmen of a professional association of which he was a member.

10–11 1330 too ends with the signature of the κεφαλαιωταί followed by the month and day.

11 Phaophi 9, indiction 8 (cf. 6) = 6 October 364, 7 October 379, 6 October 394, 409, etc.

N. GONIS

5365–5400. DOCUMENTS FROM THE DOSSIER OF THE 'APION FAMILY'

The documents edited in this section form a sequel to the group published as LXX 4780–4802. A prime consideration in their selection was the complicated issue of the succession of Apion II. 5380 confirms that Apion II died in 578. The terms κληρονόμοι and ἄνδρες, thought to have disappeared after 583, return in 5388 (586?) and 5389 (588), but this is merely an issue of notarial choice. Apion II's unnamed 'successors' are still attested in October 588 (5390), almost a year after their previous latest mention, but the picture is now more complex: 5381 shows that Praiecta and her sons Apion III and Georgius appear in estate accounts as early as 581, at a time when contracts address Apion II's heirs without naming them; the later 5391 and XVIII 2196 make it clear that this was not an isolated phenomenon. Praiecta and Apion III (an honorary consul by 585; 5386) jointly head the Oxyrhynchite estate in January 591 (5393), but Apion was in sole control of it by November 592 (5394). Particularly intriguing is 5392, where Praiecta, Apion III, and Georgius are described as 'children and heirs' of Apion II. It is unclear whether Praiecta was a daughter by birth or a daughter-in-law and adopted daughter of Apion II. Also unclear is the identity of her husband: 5396 shows that the parents of Apion III were Strategius and Praiecta, both deceased by late 595. This offers further proof that Apion's father cannot have been the Fayum aristocrat commonly known as Strategius Paneuphemos, as was once thought. The two men's careers seem to have mirrored each other (5398 4–5 n.), and we learn from 5399 that the estate of Apion III had close links with S. Paneuphemos.

Most of these details come from contracts addressed to members of the family, and the majority of the contracts in the Apion papers are receipts for parts of irrigating machines and sureties. A number of other sureties have been edited for comparison and for the new details that they offer on institutional and estate realities. They include the earliest such document in the archive (5371), and some of them attest a period in which the Apions made use of the public prison of Oxyrhynchus (5373, 5375), before the 'prison of the glorious house' became established. One of the most interesting sureties is 5395, which contains an unusual detail

about the structure of the office of the *praeses Arcadiae*, and refers to the *condicio* of the inhabitant of a village, previously known only from the law codes (see also 5378). At the other end of the statistical curve, land leases are rare in the archive. The fragments 5367, 5370, and 5374 and the more substantial 5380 and 5383 do not alter the picture, but offer additional evidence for patterns of tenancy in the estate.

Several texts are of interest also for the chronological systems used in this period. 5365 is the latest record of the postconsulate of Filoxenus cos. 525; 5380 offers the latest dating by Justinus II, one month after his death, and 5384 the latest attestation of the postconsulate of the deceased Tiberius II; 5385 confirms that Julian year 584 was counted as Mauricius' consular year 1 at Oxyrhynchus, while 5387 provides the earliest example of the Oxyrhynchite reckoning of the consular years of Mauricius from the month of Thoth.

With few exceptions, the papyri in this group derive from Grenfell and Hunt's first excavation season at Bahnasa, and most of them were part of the large find of 18 and 19 March 1897. The find produced not only 'some of the largest Greek rolls' that Grenfell had seen, but very large quantities of fragments, one of the most serious challenges of this material: pieces of the same document were recovered from various layers and placed in different folders and boxes (as indicated by the presence of '+' in some inventory numbers), so that the piecing together of texts can be slow and laborious. The same holds for the history of the Apion family and estate, whose reconstruction began with the publication of the first volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* and remains an ongoing process.¹

N. GONIS

5365. RECEIPT FOR A COGWHEEL

53 1B.26(D)/E(8)a(2) + C(7)a(1)

fr. 1 3.3 × 7.3 cm

31 December 526
Plate XI

What remains of this document, two non-contiguous fragments, replaces LXX 4781 (10. xi. 525) as the latest record of Strategius' status before his rise to the patriciate, which had taken place by 23. ix. 530 (LXX 4784), if not by late 528 (LXX 4783). A further point worthy of note is the consular date clause, the latest instance of the use of the postconsulate of Philoxenus cos. 525.

Receipts for replacement parts of irrigating machines are the commonest type of legal agreement in the Apion archive, with three dozen such texts published previously; nine more are edited in this volume (5365, 5376, 5385, 5387–9, 5393–4, 5400).

¹ I wish to thank Sophie Kovarik, with whom I discussed several textual problems; Daniela Colombo, who helped with numerous conservation and imaging issues; Giuseppina Azzarello and Todd Hickey, who shared unpublished papers and commented on a draft; Amin Benaissa, who read earlier drafts and contributed comments; Bernhard Palme, who shared his unpublished work on the Apions and offered advice; Roberta Mazza, who exchanged ideas on various points; and Ben Henry, who sees things that most of us fail to see and improves everything, big or small.

The text is written by the same scribe as XVI 1984 (523) and LXVII 4616 (525). The back is blank.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Φιλοξένου τοῦ λ[αμπροτάτου,
] Τυβι ε̄, ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ε) [ε.
 Φλαουίω Στρατηγίω τῷ ἐνδ[οξοτάτῳ] καὶ [ὑπερφουεστάτῳ ἀπὸ
 ὑπάτων καὶ στρατηλάτῃ γεο]υχοῦντι καὶ ἐν[ταῦθα τῇ λαμπρῇ
 5 Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει, διὰ Μ]ηνᾶ οἰκέτου τ[οῦ καὶ ἐπερωτῶντος
] . [.] . [

Fr. 2

c.6 ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς ἀρό[σιμον γῆ]ν μεγάλου ἐργάτου ἐνός,
 ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεω]ς ἡξιώσαμ[εν τὴν ὑμῶν ἐνδοξότητα
 διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ προσηκόντων] κελεύσαι τ[οῦτον ἡμῖν παρασχεθῆναι.
 καὶ εὐθέως ἡ ὑμῶν ἐνδοξό]της πρόνοιαν ποιομένη τῶν αὐτῆ
 5 πραγμάτων τὸν αὐτὸν μ[έγαν ἐργάτην π]αρέσχετο ἡμῖν c.6
 c.15 ὄντινα] καινὸν ἐπ[ιτῆδειον ἀντλητικὸν εὐάρεστον
 εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν πάντων τ]ῶν μηχανικ[ῶν ὀργάνων ἐδεξάμεθα
 ἐν τῇ σ]ήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἣτι]ς ἐστίν Τυβι π[έμπτη τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 10 ἔτους σ]υροβ τῆς παρού]σης (vac.) πέμπ[της ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), ὑδροπαροχίαι
 τῆς ὑποδοχῆς αὐτῆν] πεποιήμεθ[α τὴν χειρογραφίαν

2 ἰνδ^ε

After the consulship of Flavius Philoxenus, *vir clarissimus*, Tybi 5, indiction 5.

To Flavius Strategius, the most glorious and most extraordinary *ex consulibus* and *magister militum*, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who also puts the formal question ... (fr. 2) ... irrigating arable land, of one large cogwheel, we came up to the city and asked your glory through its subordinates to order that this be provided to us. And immediately your glory, showing regard for its affairs, provided the same large cogwheel to us ...; this, (being) new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, we received as completion of all the irrigation implements on this very day, which is the fifth of Tybi of the current year 203/172 of the present fifth indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the sixth *epimenesis*. And as evidence for the receipt we have made this cheirograph ...

1 On the consulship of Philoxenus, see *CSBE*² 204–5 (add LXX 4781). His postconsulate had not hitherto been attested after 3.xii.526 (SB XXII 15285; Oxy.); the consul of 526 is first attested on 12.vi.527. For the dubious case of BCU XIX 2822, see R. Ast, *ZPE* 157 (2006) 163.

3 τῶ ἐνδ[οξοτάτῳ καὶ ὑπερβυεστάτῳ]. For the epithets used for Strategius II at this time, see LXX 4785 3–4 n.

3–4 The order of Strategius' titles is restored after 4781 2–3 on the grounds of space, but it is equally likely that it was reversed, as in 1984 3 and 4616 2–3, both written by the same scribe as 5365.

The latest additions to the 'dossier' of Strategius II are P. Bastianini 24 (483), which offers his earliest appearance in the papyri, and LXXXII 5337 (493).

Fr. 2

4 πρόνο[ιαν ποιουμένη τῶν αὐτῆς. τῆς ευεράτειας will not fit after ποιουμένη. The omission is paralleled by an unpublished fragment written by the same scribe; cf. also XVI 1982 14–15 (497).

5–6 At this point there should have stood a reference to the person who supplied the cogwheel. [διδά τῶν | αὐτῆ προσκρίνοιτων] would fit the lacunas.

9 ἔτους cy βοβ is restored to match the (restored) indiction: year 203/172 = indiction 5 = 526/7 (*CSBE*² 148).

The *vacat* is due to an uneven patch on the papyrus which the scribe skipped.

9–10 Though the sense is not in doubt, there is some uncertainty about the restored parts; if ἐνδ(ικτίωνος) was not abbreviated, ὑδροπαροχίας would have been divided between the two lines and τῆς might have been omitted.

N. GONIS

5366. ANNUAL ACCOUNT OF AN ESTATE OVERSEER

13 1B.132/E(g)a

26.8 × 16 cm

c. 530–42

The beginning of an account of receipts and expenses submitted to Fl. Strategius II by the *pronoetes* of an area comprising the hamlet of Calybe and other localities. Though very little survives, 5366 is of interest as the earliest document of this type published to date; see the list in R. Mazza, *L'Archivio degli Apioni* (2001) 193 (any such list is bound to be incomplete: these are very long documents, and fragments from middle parts and without headings are difficult to identify, if they are not overlooked). The date range, c. 530–42, is suggested by the known limits of Strategius' patriciate (see 5365 introd.) and life. 5366 probably falls towards the end of this period: the hand seems to match that of XVIII 2204, an account for an indiction ending in 566 (see Mazza, *op. cit.* 62 = BL XII 145; an earlier date should be ruled out, since Apion II is called a *patricius*).

The piece preserves the beginning of the original roll. The *protokollon* was left blank, and the account begins on the second *kollema*, with the writing running along the fibres. Once written, the roll would have been rolled up from right to left. A docket was added on the outermost sheet, on the back of the *protokollon*; 5391 has the same format. Running in the same direction as the docket, closer to the beginning of the roll, there are five short lines of text preceded by checkmarks. Only the first can be read with certainty: ἀροκ(οσι-) or the village Ἀροκ(οπίου). The second begins ορ-, and I have considered Ὀρρωγίον (cf. XVIII 2207 8–9).

† Φλαουῖω Στρατηγίῳ τῷ [πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφουεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ
 εὐκλεεστάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ καὶ(?)
 πατρικίῳ γεουχοῦντι κ[α]ῖ [ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχικῶν πόλει.
 λόγ(ο)ς] λημμ(άτων) καὶ ἀνα[λωμ(άτων) γενομ(ένων) δι' ἐμοῦ Φιλοξένου
 πρα(νο)τηῦ)
 προστασί(α)ς ἐποικ(ίου) Καλύβης κ[α]ῖ
 5 π(αρά) Ἰωά[ν]νου καὶ Ἀφφούτος καὶ κοινω[νῶν
 π(αρά) Ἰ[ακ]ώβ πρε[ς]β[υ]τέρ(ου) δι(ὰ) Παησίου [
 π(αρά) c.9]τος δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου
 π(αρά) c.12] δι(ὰ) Ἰω[
 π(αρά) c.11]ωτου επ[

Back, downwards, across the fibres:

10 † λόγ(ο)ς Φιλοξένου

1 φλαουῖω 3, 10 λογ'' 3 λημμις 4 προστασί' εποικ' σiff. π 5 ιωα[ν]νου
 6 π...ερ 6-8 δι'

'To Flavius Strategius, the all-renowned and most extraordinary *ex consulis* and most well-famed *magister militum* (and?) *patricius*, landowner also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites. Account of receipts and expenditures made through me, Philoxenus, overseer of the hamlet of Calybe and ...

'From Ioannes and Apphus and associates ... / From Iacob, presbyter, through Paesius ... / From ... through Ioannes ... / From ... through Io— ... / From ... —otes ...'

Back: 'Account of Philoxenus ...'

1 Strategius' epithets and titles are restored after LXIII 4396 4-5 (542).

4 *προστασί(α)ς ἐποικ(ίου) Καλύβης*: or *ἐποικ(ίων)*, if *καί* was followed by the name of another hamlet and not only by the phrase *ἄλλων ἔξωτικῶν τόπων*. The collocation may have occurred in XVI 2019 3-4 (BL XIII 156), a similar account for an indiction ending in 548 or 563. XVIII 2204 5, written by the same scribe as 5366, has *προστασίᾳ* without *ἐποικίου* *vel sim.*; the dative is probably a mistake for the genitive. Later accounts do not contain the term *προστασία* at this point; cf. e.g. 5391 3. A reference to the indiction for which the account was drawn up would have been added at the end of the line.

The *ἐποικιον Καλύβης* is known exclusively from Apionic documents; see *RSON*² 130 (on PSI III 180.1, see *Tyche* 30 (2013) 227). A *pronoetes* appears to be mentioned in XVI 2031 18 (the title is restored and there is no space for a name).

6 *πρε[ς]β[υ]τέρ(ου)* is not easy but likely (I owe it to a suggestion by T. M. Hickey).

5367. LEASE OF LAND

54 1B.26(E)/A(3)a

26 x 9.8 cm

537?

Plate XVIII

5367, 5370, and 5374 are small fragments of land leases from the mid sixth century preserved with the papers of the Apion estate. There is now evidence for land leasing in the estate virtually throughout the time of its existence: LXXXI 5337 of 493 is the earliest document of this type in the part of the archive found in 1897 (cf. also LXVII 4615 of 505), while later examples include 5380 and 5383. Nonetheless, the number of land leases remains a fraction of that of receipts for replacement parts of irrigators and sureties, and the picture will not be altered by future publications, at least in P. Oxy.; for the problem, see T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (2012) 20.

The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

]. [] . []

c.55

καὶ πάση]ς τ[ῆ]ς καθόλου]

αὐτῆς περιοχῆς σωματικοῦ τε
καὶ ἀνωμάτου καὶ τελέσομεν τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφύειρα(?) ἐ]ξ ἀλληλεγγύης τὸν
προκειμένον φόρον ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης
ἀρούρης σίτου ἀπὸ καλοῦ γενήματος κεκοσκινευμένου]ν ἀρτάβας ὀκτώ μετὰ τῶν
προειρημένων ἐξ ἔθους αὐτῶν

5 c.30 ἐπὶ τε νεילוβρό]χου καὶ ἀβρόχου κατὰ τὴν
ἀνωτέρω διήγησιν ἀνυπερθέτως.
κυρία ἢ μίσθως ἀπλῆ γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντε]ς ὡμολογήσαμεν καὶ ἀπε-
λύσαμεν. Αὐρήλιος Μηνᾶς υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου
Θεοδώρου ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων ὄ]ντων. †
(vac.)
✠ διὰ ἐμοῦ Φιλοξένου συμβολαιογράφου ἐτελειώθη. ✠ di emu Filoxenu etelioth
κη (ἰνδικτίωνος) α signs †

3 ὑπερ 5 ἀνυπερθετως 6 νίος 8 ι = (ἰνδικτίωνος)

... and whatever else it comprises in terms of corporal as well as incorporeal law, and we shall pay to your extraordinaryness(?) on mutual security the aforementioned tent for each arura, (i.e.) eight artabas of wheat from good produce, sieved, with their aforesaid customary ... for both Nile-watered and unwatered land in accordance with the above statement without delay. The lease, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question we assented and delivered (the contract). I, Aurelius Menas son of the blessed Theodorus, wrote for them at their request because they are illiterate.

(Greek alphabet) 'Completed through me Philoxenus, contract-writer.'

(Roman alphabet) 'Completed through me Philoxenus. ... 28, indiction 1.'

2-3 On this clause, see *ZPE* 129 (2000) 183 (19 n.). αὐτῆς may refer to a μηχανή; see 5370 introd. 3 τῆ ἑμῶν ὑπερφουεῖς fits the space but is essentially a stopgap.

5 Perhaps supply γεουχικῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν πασῶν (WBH), followed by a reference to additional payments such as the ἔκτακτα; cf. P. Berl. Zill. 7.23-4 δώσω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔκτακτα πάντα καὶ τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν γεουχ(ικᾶς) ὑπηρεσίας πάσας, XXXVII 2478 20-21 κ[αὶ τ]ᾶς διδομένας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἔθους γεουχικᾶς ὑπηρεσίας πάσας.

τὴν ἀνωτέρω διήγγειν. On this expression, see LVIII 3955 26 n. (where ἀνωτέρω is to be read in place of ἀνωτέρω); further examples are provided by XVIII 2203 8 (see 5397 13 n.), and SB VI 8987.43-4 (with BL IX 252).

6-7 Menas son of Theodorus signs on behalf of illiterates also in XXXVI 2779 26-7 (530), 5368, and the unpublished 105/44(a) of 538 (edited by S. Slattery in his Oxford D. Phil. thesis of 2013). All these texts are signed by the notary Philoxenus. Menas' father is called 'blessed' here and in 2779 but not in 5368; the fact that this element is also absent from 105/44(a) shows that this inconsistency on the part of Philoxenus is of no particular significance.

8 The notary Philoxenus signed several documents, five of which are dated between 528 and 550; see *Byz. Nor.* pp. 86-7, nos. 21.2.1-6.¹ He was probably the father of the notary Vicior (cf. 5374); see G. Azzarello, 'Tale padre, tale figlio: riflessioni sulla prassi notarile bizantina a Ossirinco', in V. Formentin et al. (edd.), *Lingua, letteratura e umanità: Studi offerti dagli amici ad Antonio Daniele* (2016) 65. His signature is mostly Latinized (probably also in 5370); the Greek and Latin versions are attested only here and in 5368.

'Bilingual' or rather digraphic notarial signatures have occurred in just over a dozen Oxyrhynchite documents from between the mid fifth and the mid seventh century. The earliest instance comes from XXXIV 2718 (458), followed by XX 2270 (v/vi) and LVII 3914 (519). We find more such signatures thereafter: besides Philoxenus', there are those of Theon in XVI 1983 (535), of Iustus in LXII 4397 (545), though he uses the Latinized version everywhere else, of Apollon in 5376 (560/61), and of Damianus in a text of 561, to appear in volume LXXXIV (only Latinized elsewhere). From later years, we have three such signatures of Papnuthius, in I 136 (583), 138, and LVIII 3952 (610),² and one of Ioannes in LVIII 3958 (614): both notaries commonly use a Latinized signature. Lastly, there is Georgius' signature in SB VI 8987 (644/5), the latest dated document from the city of Oxyrhynchus. The pattern in these signatures is normally δ' ἐμοῦ name συμβολαιογράφου ἐτελειώθη ... di emu name eteliosthē; 136 and 3914 add *symbolaeografa* after the Latin name.

After *eteliosthē* Philoxenus added a date by month and indiction and signs that are presumably shorthand. The practice of including dates in notarial signatures (first discussed in 1891 26 n.) goes back

¹ One of these texts, the loan PSI VIII 964, has been assigned to 520/21, 535/6, or 550/51 (BL VIII 404). The earliest date may seem to receive support from the fact that the rate of interest is specified as 12%: the legal rate was lowered to 6% in a law of 528 (P. Heid. VII 401.16-17 n.; cf. BL XII 253). However, 520/21 would fall outside the period in which Philoxenus is known to have been active, so that the two later alternatives appear preferable. If so, it would seem that the 12% rate continued to be charged on some loans after 528 (cf. also BL XI 249).

² The identification of the signature as that of Papnuthius is made by E. Bonollo in 'Pratiche notarili nell'Ossirinche bizantino: i papiri di Papnuthios e Ioannes', forthcoming in G. Azzarello (ed.), *Tu se' lo mio maestro ...: Scritti offerti dagli studenti udinesi al Prof. Franco Maltomini in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno*. (I am grateful to G. Azzarello for a preview of this paper.)

to the late fifth century, and is not too common until the mid sixth; it becomes sporadic thereafter, but still persists until the mid seventh century. It is found with some of the digraphic signatures, and seems to be a fairly standard feature of the signatures of certain notaries. The following four predate Philoxenus:

(i) Serenus in XVI 1961 29 (487) and 1962 = SB XVI 12583 (500) (= *Byz. Not.* 18.2.1–2). 1961 is dated Pharmuthi 19, indiction 10, and the date in the signature was read as $\Phi(\alpha\rho\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota) \text{ xviii}$ ($\iota\delta\delta\iota$)($\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$) x. Except for the month name, the rest seems to be plausibly read ('Zeichen' in *Byz. Not.*; contrast 3914 26–8 n.). In 1962, dated Thoth 18, ind. 9, the date in the signature was first read as $\Theta(\omega\omicron) \text{ xviii}$ ($\iota\delta\delta\iota$)($\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$) (ν) iii . An agnostic attitude was taken in the re-edition (*ZPE* 34 (1979) 137) and *Byz. Not.*, but while the name of the month cannot be verified, the day number and indiction symbol are clear. The number of the indiction is in Latin, and ought to be 9, but it is hard to understand the notary's logic.

(ii) The notary (name not convincingly deciphered; I cannot follow the reading proposed by J. Diethart, *ByzZ* 110 (2016) 30) who signed in XVI 1891 26 (495), 1959 23 (499), and SB XII 10937 = P. Palau Rib. 18.4 (= *Byz. Not.* 25.11.2–4). In 1891, the two dates seem to match: Choiak 2, ind. 4 = $\chi\omicron(\iota\alpha\kappa) \text{ ii}$ ($\iota\delta\delta\iota$)(κ)($\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$) iii (the notarial date was rendered as 'Zeichen' in *Byz. Not.*), except for the fact that $\chi\omicron(\iota\alpha\kappa)$ cannot be confirmed beyond the presence of a superscript \omicron . No date was read in the signature of 1959: the month name is abraded, but after that we can make out $\nu\iota$ ($\iota\delta\delta\iota\kappa\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$) viii . It would appear the document was signed on the sixth of the month, but this is not in line with the date clause, $\Theta\omega\theta$ a $\iota\delta\delta\iota\kappa(\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma) \eta$ (2); cf. I 133 (see further below), where the notary's signature is dated one day later than the document itself. The alpha is malformed, but not like stigma in 9. In the fragmentary P. Palau Rib. 18, the date in the signature after what must be a symbol for the month reads xx ($\iota\delta\delta\iota\kappa\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$) viii . This indiction 8 must correspond to 499/500.

(iii) Sarapammon in XVI 1982 27–8 (497) (= *Byz. Not.* 18.1.1). The document is dated Phaophi 4 (= October 1), indiction 6; the date in the signature reads *octombrio* δ ($\iota\delta\delta$). ϵ . Either the signature was added three days later, or the notary equated Phaophi with October.

(iv) —nilus in LVII 3914 28 (519), a notary distinguished by his archaizing Latin script. He wrote the month date partly or wholly in shorthand, used a hitherto unparalleled symbol for the indiction, and wrote the number of the indiction in Roman numerals.

This review suggests some general observations (in part already made in 1891 26 n.). The numbers of the day of the month and of the indiction are generally given in Roman numerals except in 1982, which has them in Greek. The month name is rendered in Latin in 1982, but in all other cases it is reduced to what seem to be tachygraphic symbols: although editors have interpreted them as letters of the alphabet, it is impossible to match them with any Greek or Roman characters. The indiction is abbreviated in the same way everywhere except in 3914: a tall upright that curls up rightwards at the foot until it reaches one-quarter height, and then descends from left to right. The upright may represent iota but perhaps the whole has to be seen as a symbol, i.e., ($\iota\delta\delta\iota\kappa\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$); this was the view (implicitly) adopted in *Byz. Not.* with reference to Sarapammon and Philoxenus.

Philoxenus uses the same symbol for the indiction, with the addition of a short v-shaped stroke under it, and in most cases Greek figures for the day of the month and the indiction (the readings are quoted after *Byz. Not.*): XVI 1900 34 (528) $\Phi(\alpha\omega\phi\iota)$ [$\text{XXXVI 2779 28 (530) } \tau\upsilon(\beta\iota) \delta$ ($\iota\delta\delta$) θ ; XVI 1986 = SB XII 11231.23 (549) $\mathcal{A}\theta(\upsilon\rho) \beta$ ($\iota\delta\delta$). γ ; I 133 28 (550) $\Phi(\alpha\omega\phi\iota) \kappa\gamma$ ($\iota\delta\delta$) $\iota\delta$; PSI VIII 964.31 . . . ζ ($\iota\delta\delta$). δ ; add now 5367 . . . $\kappa\gamma$ ($\iota\delta\delta\iota\kappa\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$) α . An exception is I 140 32 (550) $\Gamma(\alpha\chi\omega\upsilon) \eta$ ($\iota\delta\delta$). $\text{[}\gamma\text{]}$, where a $\text{[}\gamma\text{]}$ is impossible; Philoxenus used a peculiar symbol where the number is expected. As in the case of the earlier signatures, the putative month names cannot be confirmed, and must be in shorthand. It is interesting that the remains of the symbol for the month in 1900 34 match those in 133 28—in both texts the month in the main date clause is Phaophi.

Iustus, a contemporary of Philoxenus, added dates to some of his earlier signatures. In LI 3641 26 (544) (= *Byz. Not.* 9.1.1), dated Mecheir 12, indiction 7, we may read β (β δικ(τ)ίωσος) ζ in his signature: the month must have been expressed in shorthand. More difficult is the case of XVI 1985 32 (543) (= *Byz. Not.* 9.1.1), dated Phaophi 11, indiction 7; it is possible to see (β δικ(τ)ίωσος) ζ, and this seems to be preceded by a tiny zeta, but that would be incompatible with the day of the month in the main date clause. The pattern is different in LXIII 4397 246 (545), where Iustus seems to have used shorthand throughout (the original is very dark; I am grateful to James Brusuelas for a multispectral image of the signature).

Victor, Philoxenus' son, appended dates to all his signatures. For the details and further discussion, see 5374 4 n. As with Philoxenus and Iustus, the numbers are Greek.

Dates reappear in the signatures of Papputhius in LVIII 3952 59, transcribed as $\bar{\alpha}$ κ' $\bar{\gamma}$ (β ρ(α)υε?) / $\bar{\alpha}$ κ' $\bar{\gamma}$ $\bar{\alpha}$, and I 138 49, read as β δ(ι)κ(τ)ίωσος) β (β ρ(α)υε) κ' ζ $\bar{\alpha}$ κ' $\bar{\gamma}$, and of Ioannes in 3958 41 (614), which ends ... τ() β δ(ι)κ(τ)ίωσος) β (β ρ(α)υε?) κ' $\bar{\alpha}$ κ' $\bar{\gamma}$ according to the published transcription. These readings require some modifications, which have implications for the dating of these documents.

κ' in 3952 59 is the indiction symbol, whose shape resembles that of kappa. It is virtually identical to the shape of the third letter in alphabet B, discussed by D. Feissel in his edition of P. Worp 11; Feissel argues that it represents $\bar{\alpha}$. $\bar{\gamma}$ is the number of the indiction, as has already been recognized; $\bar{\alpha}$ (no dot needed) is the day of the month. The text comes from the interregnum between Phocas and Heraclius; with Phocas recognized in the Fayum as late as 8.i.610 (CPR XXIV 27), this would have been the first of any month between Phamenoth and the first epagomenal day (25.ii – 24.viii.610).

In 138 49, in place of β δ(ι)κ(τ)ίωσος) I read on a photograph β δ (β δικ(τ)ίωσος). β δ is the day of the month; this is followed by the indiction symbol, which looks like kappa but is essentially the same as that used by earlier notaries. The part of the date clause that contained the month and day is lost. The contract is set to run from Choiak 15, indiction 14; it is tempting to take the 14th day mentioned in the signature as the 14th of Choiak. This converts to 10 December 610, and would make 138 the earliest dated document of the reign of Heraclius, next attested in LVIII 3954 of 12.ii.611. Heraclius was enthroned on 5 October 610; it would be perfectly reasonable to assume that the news reached Egypt within two months.

In 3958 41 too the indiction symbol was interpreted as kappa; for β δ(ι)κ(τ)ίωσος) I read γ (β δικ(τ)ίωσος). γ is the day of the month, which would have stood in the lost part of γ : restore Παχωϋ [γ], which corresponds to 8 May 614. The name of the month is what was transcribed as τ() (), the note specifying that 'tau has an arc above it'. We find a similar 'tau' with some writing above it where the name of the month should appear in the notarial date of 140, a document also dated in Pachon: this could be the symbol for Pachon.

A new element is the addition of the Oxyrhynchite era year. The putative (β ρ(α)υε) has a peculiar shape: in 3952 59, it is described as a 'zeta- or xi-shaped symbol ... separated from [the era numbers] by an isolated sloping upright' (3960 3 n.); in 3958 41 the 'sign looks like xi or zeta with a long vertical tail' (note ad loc.): the same sign occurs in 138 49, where it looks like zeta and is intersected by a long oblique at the foot. This must have been a standard (shorthand?) symbol.

Finally, there is the notary Georgius in SB VI 8987 of 644/5 (*Byz. Not. Oxy.* 3.1.1, Taf. 41), whose signature is digraphic and ends with a clear γ (στ): this corresponds to the number of the indiction in 1 (the month is lost).

To return to 5367, the first indiction mentioned in the notary's signature probably corresponds to 537/8, since Menas son of Theodorus is not attested after 538 (see above, 6–7 n.). The month symbol here, β , is somewhat similar to that in 138 49 (discussed above). If it represents the month of Choiak (Cho(eac)?), 5367 will have been signed on 24 December 537.

5368. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DEBT

53 1B.26(F)/C(3)b

18 x 12.6 cm

530s?

Plate XIX (ll. 12–13)

The lower part of an acknowledgement of a debt of five solidi, a fairly substantial sum (cf. LXXVII 5124 introd.). The principal is to be repaid when the creditor wishes; interest is not mentioned. As the document was found among the Apion papers, its origin seems clearly established. It is unfortunate that we do not know who the creditor was. When loans are made in the name of the head of the estate, they are *prochreiai*, advance payments; cf. P. Amh. II 149 (v1), P. Iand. III 48 (582), LVIII 3943–6 (606), I 192 = SB XXII 15362 (614/15?). Ordinary loans to employees on the Apion estate seem to have been made only by other, usually senior Apionic staff; cf. XVI 1970 (554), LXXI 4835 (574), LXXII 4930 (614), or LXXV 5070 (605/6 or 620/21). What survives of 5368 is not indicative of a loan of the *prochreia* type. Cf. also 5369.

The amanuensis and the notary appear together in documents of the 530s (see above, 5367 6–7 n.), hence the date range tentatively assigned to this document.

The text is written along the fibres.

.]ξ[. cun-

αποχῆς ἤ] πρὸ ἀνακομ[ι]δῆς καὶ λυτρῶ[ς]εως εἰ ἰ
 μου τοῦ γραμματίου ὑποθέμενος εἰς τὸ δίκαιον αὐτοῦ
 ἅπαντά μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπάρξοντα ἰδικῶς καὶ
 5 γενικῶς ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ. κύριον
 τὸ γραμμάτιον ἀπλοῦν γραφέν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα.
 (m.2) Ἀυρήλιος Πάμβηχης υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἔχω καὶ
 ὀφείλω τὰ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ν[ο]μισμάτια πέντε παρὰ κεράτια εἴκοσι
 ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ) καὶ ἀποδώσω ταῦτα ὅπταν βουληθ(είη)ς καὶ ζυμφ(ωνεῖ) μοι
 10 πάντα ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολ(όγη)σα καὶ ἀπέλ(υ)σα. Ἀυρήλιος
 Μηναῖς υἱὸς
 Θεοδώρου ἀξιωθεῖς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος.
 (vac.)

(m.3) † δι' ἐμοῦ Φιλοξένου συμβολαιογράφου ἐτελειώθη.

✠ di etu Filoxenu etelioth

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† γραμμάτιον Πάμβηχίου υἱοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) (?) Διονυ]σιάδος
 χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισματίων) εἰ παρὰ κερ(άτια) κ ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγῶ

15

κεφαλαίου 𐀓

3 ὑποθεμενος 4 ὑπαρχοντα, ὑπαρφοῖτα ἰδικως; I. εἰδικῶς 5 ὑποθηκτης
 7 υἱοσειακῆφ 9 ἰδξινγλ, βουληθς, ζυμφ 10 προς, επερωμοθ, απεθ υιοσ 11 ὑπερ
 14 χρῆεν κερκιδε

'... receipt or before the recovery and annulment of ... my deed, pledging to the right of it all my property present and future, in particular and in general, by way of pledge and by right of mortgage. The deed, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I assented.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Pambechis son of Ioseph, the aforewritten, have and owe the five gold solidi minus twenty carats by the private standard, and will return them whenever you may wish, and everything satisfies me as aforesaid, and in reply to the formal question I assented and delivered (the contract). I, Aurelius Menas son of Theodorus, wrote at his request on his behalf because he is illiterate.'

(3rd hand) (Greek alphabet) 'Completed through me, Philoxenus, contract-writer.'

(Roman alphabet) 'Completed through me, Philoxenus.'

Back: 'Deed of Pambechis son of Ioseph from the hamlet of (?) Dionysias for 5 gold solidi minus 20 carats by the private standard, as capital.'

1-3 For the formula cf. XVI 1891 17-19 (495) χωρις ἑγγράφων | ἐνταγίον και συναποχῆ η̄ πρό ἀνακομιδῆς τούτου μου τοῦ | γραμματίου; the misspelled VIII 1130 19-20 (484) χωρις ἐγγράφων ἐνταγίον ἡ συναποχῆς) ὑ̄ πρό ἀνακομιτῆς | και λητρῶς(ως) τοῦδε μου γραμματίου; or the fragmentary P. Coles 29.9. Neither τούτου nor τοῦδε can be read at the end of 2, and it is unclear what followed immediately after λυτρῶ[ε]ξως.

8 υ[ο]μιμάτια πέντε παρά κεράτια εἰκοσι. Solidi of the 'minus 4 carats' variety also occur in PSI I 77 (551), I 145 (552), and probably SB XVI 12472 (525 or 526).

10-11 Cf. 5367 6-7 and n.

12-13 On the notary Philoxenus see 5367 8 n. The endorsement may be in his hand.

14 Even though the name is given as Πάμβηχης in 7, I have restored Πάμβηχιον because this is the only form of the genitive attested to date.

ἀπό ἐποικ(ίου) (?) Διονυ(κ)ιάδος. The restoration is tentative, but no other known Oxyrhynchite toponym ending -κιάδος is attested at this time. Besides PSI VIII 948 (345/6), it occurs in unpublished documents of the seventh century. Γε(κ)ιάδος, a Heracleopolite locality, should probably be excluded.

N. GONIS

5369. TOP OF CONTRACT

55 1B.25(D)/H(5)a

16.4 x 10.5 cm

26 April 548

The endorsement calls this document a γραμματίον, which indicates a financial transaction. Only the top is extant, with the date and prescript, where an oil-maker addresses Apion II. One possibility is that it is a sale on delivery (or loan of money with repayment in kind); cf. SB XVI 12585 (Oxy.; 557), which involves an oil-maker from an Apionic holding. It seems less likely that it was an ordinary loan; see above, 5368 introd.

5369 offers the earliest instance of the epithet πανεύφημος applied to Apion II.

The text is written along the fibres.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη
 Φλ(αουίου) Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγοῦστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους κβ̄,
 τοῖς
 τὸ 5̄ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίου Βασιλίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου,
 Παχων ᾱ, ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ε) ἰα, ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει. //

5 Φλαουίῳ Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑ[π]ερφυστάτῳ
 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδινारीων γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ
 Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει, διὰ [Μ]ηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ ἐπερωτῶντος
 κ[α]ὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰ[δ]ίῳ δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ
 δ[ν]δρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ [ἐν]οχῆν, Αὐρήλιος Φιβ υἱὸς

10 . .] .νο. [.] μητρὸς Σω[ε]ά]γνας ἐλα[ιουργ]ός ὀρμώμενος
] . [] . []

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† γρ(αμμάτιον) Φιβ ἐλαιουργοῦ υἱοῦ . [

2 φλίουστινιανου, αυτοκρ̄ 3 ὑπατιανφλαουιουβασιλιου; 1 ὑπατιαν, Βασιλίου 4 ἐν
 5 φλαουίῳ, ὑ[π]ερφυστατω 6 ὑπατων 8 ἰ[δ]ίῳ 9 υἱος 12 γρ, υἱοῦ

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, Flavius Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 22, the 6th time under the consuls after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *vir clarissimus*, Pachon 1, indiction 11, in the city of Oxyrhynchi.

'To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius*, landowner also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I. Aurelius Phib son of ... mother Susanna, oil-maker, originating ...'

'Deed of Phib, oil-maker, son of ...'

2-3 The postconsular count (-1) takes 543 as the first postconsular year: a parallel from 548 is P. Cair. Masp. I 67095 (I.iv.548). See F. Reiter, *ZPE* 145 (2003) 232-5, 238.

5-6 τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑ[π]ερφυστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδινारीων. This is the earliest instance of this combination of epithets and titles of Apion II, which he retains until his elevation to the patri-
 ciate. The earlier XVI 1985 2 (543) and LI 3641 3 (544) call him τῷ ὑπερφυστάτῳ ὑπάτῳ ὀρδινारीῳ, and LXIII 4397 11-12 (545) τὸν ὑπερφυστάτον ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδινारीων. But contrast 5372 3 (551) τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ.

10 . .] .νο. [.] . I have considered [Ἰωά]ννου (XVI 1895 4 (554) refers to a woman who was the daughter of Ioannes and Susanna), but]ν is not an obvious reading. What remains of this name in the docket is an upright with a short horizontal over it; it would be difficult to take the horizontal as a form of diaeresis, when the scribe used the double-dot version over iota everywhere else. Perhaps Π?

ἐλα[ιουργ]ός. Cf. 12. Several oil-makers are attested in the service of the Apions, but the damage

after this line makes it impossible to know Phib's affiliation. Cf. E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931) 130-31.

N. GONIS

5370. LEASE OF LAND

53 1B.26(D)/F(10)2(i)
+ 54 1B.26(E)/A(6)b

fr. 1 4.5 × 9.5 cm,
fr. 2 28.5 × 9.6 cm

Mid sixth century
Plate XV

The subscription to a lease of the two-thirds part of an irrigator (μηχανή), no doubt with associated land, taken by a plurality of persons. It is written by Apollos son of Aranakios, who acts as the amanuensis also in 5374, and as the amanuensis and notary in 5376. The notary is probably Philoxenus. For leases of μηχαναί, which are generally regarded as leases of land, see LXVII 4615 introd., LXXXII 5331 introd., and cf. below, 5380 and 5383.

The text is written along the fibres. On the back there are badly rubbed traces of the endorsement, written downwards, along the fibres.

.] . . [c.6] . [c.8] . [.] . [. τῶν τῆς

γῆς δημοσίῳ|ων ὄντων π|ρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν ὑπερφύειαν τὴν κεκτημένην, ἐπάναγκες
 δέ ἡμᾶς παρασχέιν τὸν φόρ[ο]ν
 ἐν|αυσιῶς ἐν τ[ῷ] δέοντι κ|αιρῷ ἀνυπερθέτως ποιουμένους καὶ τὴν ἀναβολὴν
 τῶν ναούϊων. τὴν δέ νομὴν τῶν προ-
 ειρ|ημένων π[άντων πρα]γμάτων ἄτρωτων ἀβλαβῆ φυλάξομεν καὶ παραδώσομεν
 τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείᾳ ὡς καὶ παρ-
 5 ειλῆ|φάμεν ὑ[ποθέ]μενοι ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ δίκαιον ταύτης τῆς μισθώσεως ἅπαντα
 ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπάρξ[οντα]
 ἰδικῶς καὶ γ[ενικῶς] ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ. κυρία ἢ μίσθως
 δις|τὴ γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερ[ωτηθέντες] ὡμολ[ογήσαμεν].
 (m.2) + τὸ κοιν[ὸν τῶν] προγεγραμμένων ὀνομάτων πεποιήμεθα τήνδε τὴν μίσθωσιν
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 δμοίου|ρου μ[έρους τῆς] αὐτῆς μηχανῆς καὶ ἀποδώσομεν τὸν προκειμένον
 ἀπότακτον αὐτοῦ φόρον ἐνιαυσιῶς καὶ στοιχεῖ
 ἡμῖν πάντ[α ὡς] π[ρό]κ[ε]ιται. Ἀπολλῶς Ἀπανακίου ἀξ[ιωθεῖς] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων ὄντων.

10

(m. 3) ✠ d[i] e[m]u [Filox]en[us] etelioth

2 ὑμων 4 ὑμων 5 ὑπαρξ 6 ἰδικως; 1. εἰδικῶς ὑποθήκης, ἐπερωμολῶ
 9 πρ[ο]σ, ἀξ, ὑπερ

... the public charges on the land being the responsibility of your extraordinariness who possesses it. And we shall perforce deliver the rent annually at the proper time without delay, also carrying out the raising of the irrigation earthworks. And the right of possession of all the aforesaid things we shall preserve free of injury and damage and shall return to your extraordinariness just as we received it, all of us pledging to the right of this lease all our property present and future, in particular and in general, by way of pledge and by right of mortgage. The lease, written in two copies, is binding, and in reply to the formal question we assented.'

(2nd hand) 'We, the collective body of the aforesaid persons, have made this lease of the said two-thirds part of the said irrigator, and shall deliver its aforesaid fixed rent annually, and everything satisfies us as aforesaid. I, Apollon son of Apanakios, wrote for them at their request because they are illiterate.'

(3rd hand) 'Completed through me, Philoxenus.'

1-2 Cf. PSI I 77.28-9 (551) τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν λαμπρότητα τὴν κεκτημένην.

5 ἤ[πιθε]μένοι looks short; perhaps ἤ[πιθε]μένοι (WBH), although the present is not paralleled. 7 τὸ κοιν[όν τῶν] προγεγραμμένων ὀνομάτων. Cf. 5379 6, 5384 31-2. This is the earliest instance of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν (...) ὀνομάτων. LXVI 4536 32-3 n. collected the evidence and concluded: 'It would appear that the persons named are considered to be representative of the whole community or that the community as a whole accepts liability for the agreement'. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (1949) 153-4, had earlier argued that the phrase referred to the 'village organization'. I think it is more likely to be a mere formula used instead of multiple signatures, added by an amanuensis because of the signatories' illiteracy. A statement of the amanuensis follows every instance of the formula. Particularly instructive is LXII 4351 17, where τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάτων comes after three autograph subscriptions, and is followed by an illiteracy statement. The same may be implied by the addition of προγεγραμμένων, as here. In the surety XVI 1979 = SB XXVIII 17002, the formula is misapplied, and although the agreement is made by a single person, plurals are used in the subscription; in 25, read ἤ[πιθε] [αὐτῶν αἰ]γρομαμάτων ὄντων (WBH). For similar errors, see 5380 introd., 5384 introd.

9 Ἀπολλῶς Ἀπανακίου. Cf. 5374 3, 5376 10. This person was responsible for numerous subscriptions in documents signed by Philoxenus and Victor. His dossier has been assembled by Azzarello (above, 5367 8 n.) 57-71, who argues that he was also a scribe who wrote some of the documents signed by these notaries. Apollon also functioned as a notary himself: in 5376, the latest document attesting him, he acts as scribe, amanuensis, and notary.

10 [Fila]x[en]u. The reading relies on the identification of a tall riser as belonging to ε and on its distance from εμμ. The presence of Apollon son of Apanakios is an additional argument.

N. GONIS

5371. DEED OF SURETY

55 1B.25(C)/D(4)b

19.5 × 9.4 cm

7 September 551

The upper right-hand part of a surety addressed to Apion II by a trader in the village of Sephtha, who pledges for a person from the same village. This is the earliest document of this kind from the Apion archive that I have been able to identify in the collection; see also 5372 and 5373, from the same indiction year. It is curious that we do not possess any earlier Apionic

sureties, but this may be a mere accident: Oxyrhynchus has already yielded P. Wash. Univ. 25 (530) and SB XVIII 13949 (541), which refer to other landowners; cf. also XIX 2238 (551).

The text is written along the fibres. The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ(αοῦ)ου
 Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰ[ω]νίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους κε, τοῖς
 τὸ ε' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν
 (vac.) Φλ(αοῦ)ου Βασιλίου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου), Θ]ωθ θ,
 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιε//, ἐν Ὁξυρυγγ(ων) πόλει. /
 Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδ[ι]αρίων
 γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγγιτῶν πόλει,
 διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσ]πότη τῷ
 αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην,
 5 Αὐρήλιος c.40 διαπρ]αγματεούμενος
 ἐν κώμῃ Σεφθα τοῦ Ὁξυρυγγίτου νομοῦ παραρχουμ(ένη)
 ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυσίας, ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ἰδίῳ γράμ]μασιν. ὁμολογῶ
 ἔκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀσθαιρέτῳ προαιρέσει
 ἐπομνύμενος Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῆς καλ]λινίκου τύχης
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῇ ἡμῶν ἐνδοξότητι
 c.50 μη]τρὸς Μαύρας
 ὀρμύμενος καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Σεφθα
 c.60] .[c.7
] . . . [] . ε . [] . κ [. . .] . . καὶ ης

1 ἡ. ὑπατεῖαν 2 ἰνδξ, οξυρυγγξ 5 παραρχουμξ; 1. παγαρχουμένη 7 ἐγγυασθαι

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, Flavius Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 25, the 10th time under the consuls after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *uir clarissimus*, Thoth 9, indiction 15, in the city of the Oxyrhynchi.

'To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius*, landowner also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius ..., conducting business at the village of Septhā of the Oxyrhynchite nome, administered by your extraordinariness, signing below in my own letters. I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, swearing by God almighty and the piety of the gloriously triumphant fortune, that I guarantee and pledge to your glory ..., mother Maura, him too originating from the same village of Septhā, ...'

1–2 The consular count is the traditional one, which takes 542 as the first postconsular year of Fl. Basilius; other Oxyrhynchite documents used other reckonings. See F. Reiter, *ZPE* 145 (2003) 232–5, 239.

3 τῷ παρεμφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδινῶν ἀρίων. This is the standard combination of epithets and titulature applied to Apion II in this period; see above, 5369 5–6 n.

5 Probably only the names of the guarantor and his father and mother are lost in the gap; there is not enough space to supply an *οἶξο* as well.

διαπραγματευόμενος. See LXXII 4918 7 n.

Ἐεφθα. Cf. 8. The association of this village with the Apion estate is amply attested (*RSON*² 333–6). παραρχουμ(ένου), l. παγ-. Cf. 5373 8, 5377 1, 5378 5, 5390 9. On this term, see LXX 4787 9–10 n.; LXXXII 5337 7–8 n.

6 The line is short as restored but nothing else seems to have been lost.

7 Cf. for the oath formula 5372 7–8, 5375 7–8; 5373 9–10 (with καὶ νύκην after τὴν εὐεβειαν). For other instances, see 4787 11–12 n.

ἐνδοξότητι. The use of this abstract, appropriate for an ἐνδοξότατος, need not imply that one of the epithets lost in the lacuna in 3 was ἐνδοξότατος, as in 5372 3; cf. I 133 8, 18 (550).

8 Ἐεπφθα. The reading is secure, and contrasts with Ἐεφθα (the common spelling in this period) in 5. 'Aspirates ... are occasionally strengthened by the insertion of the corresponding voiceless stop' (Gignac, *Grammar* i 100). This is more common with χ; P. Lond. IV 1419.29, 1433 (716/17) ἀναλημφθ() seems to be the only other example of π inserted before φθ.

N. GONIS

5372. DEED OF SURETY

97/93(a) + 54 1B.26(E)/A(10)b fr. 1 10.3 × 10.2 cm, fr. 2 10.8 × 7.3 cm

27 January 552

Two non-contiguous fragments preserve the top left and right parts of a surety addressed to Apion II. The guarantor is a trader (cf. 5371) and long-term resident of Oxyrhynchus; he pledges for a person who originates from a κτήμα, certainly an Apionic holding.

One of the fragments comes from a box with papyri that Grenfell removed from various boxes of the first excavation season and 'rejected' from volumes XIV–XVI. The other comes from the boxes with exclusively Apionic documents which were sorted in the late 1920s; it is possible, however, that these had been cursorily checked by Grenfell.

The text is written along the fibres.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐ[εβεστάτου ἡμ]ῶν δεσπότου Φλαουίου
 Γιουστινιανῶ του αἰωνίου

Ἀγούστου καὶ Αυτοκράτορος ἔτους κ̅[ε, τοῖς τὸ ια μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίου]
 Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου, Μεχειρ ᾶ, ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) ι̅ε'.

Φλαυίῳ Ἀπίωνι τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτ[ι καὶ ὑπερφυ]ξεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδινῶν ἀρίων
 γεουχοῦντι

καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχ[ιτῶν πόλει, διὰ Μη]νᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ
 ἐπερωτώντος καὶ προς-

- 5 σπορίζοντως τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῆ[ν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνο]χὴν, Θεόδωρος φραματευ-
 τῆς υἱὸς
 Φαρεσμανίου ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων [ἰδίοις γράμμασιν] καταμένων ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ
 χρόνου
 ἐνταῦθα τῇ αὐτῇ Ὀξυρυνχιδῶν [πόλει. ὁμολογ]ῶ ἐκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ ἐπομύμενος
 Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τῆ[ν εὐεβείαν τῆς καλλι]νίκου [τύχης] ἐ[γγυ]μ[ᾶσθαι]
 κ[αὶ]
 ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῷ ἐνδόξῳ [ὑμῶν οἴκῳ] c.35
 10 ὀρμώμενον ἀπὸ κτήμ[ατος] c.40

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† ἐγγύη Θεοδώρου [υἱοῦ Φαρεσμανίου

. [

1, 2 φλς 1 Ιουστινιανου 2 Ι. Αὐγούστου ὑπαριαν; Ι. ὑπατεῖαν λαμπρ.
 ενδξ 3 Ι. ὀρθιναρίων 4-5 Ι. προσπορίζοντος 5 ἰδιω θεοδωρος: εὐδ σοπ. from εὐ
 Ι. φραγματευτῆς υἱος 6 χρόνου: χρσ σοπ. from χρω

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, Flavius Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 25, the 11th time under the consuls after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *vir clarissimus*, Mecheir 1, indiction 15.

'To Flavius Apion, the most glorious and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius*, landowner also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Theodorus, trader, son of Pharesmanius, signing below in my own letters, residing for a long time here in the same city of the Oxyrhynchites. I acknowledge by willing resolve, swearing by God almighty and the piety of the gloriously triumphant fortune, that I guarantee and pledge to your glorious house ... originating from the holding ...'

Back: 'Surety of Theodorus son of Pharesmanius ...'

2 ἔτους κ̄[ε], τοῖς τὸ ια. The number of the regnal year is restored on the basis of the month and the indiction (Justinian's *dies imperii* is 1 April); see *CSBE*² 150. The consular year is restored following the pattern attested in 5371, but this is not the only possibility.

3 τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ καὶ ὑπερφυ]εστάτῳ. This combination of epithets is attested for Strategius II between 523 and 530; cf. 5365 3 and n. It is applied to some other Strategius in XVI 1829 24. ἐνδοξοτάτῳ is not used for Apion II elsewhere (for XVI 2019 1, see BL III 140).

5 τῆ[ν ἀγωγὴν. There is no room to restore τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπιθεῖ ἀνδρὶ. For the careless omission, cf. 5385 9.

6 Φαρεσμανίου. On this name, of Persian origin, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 193 (2015) 247 (7 n.). It is found mainly in Heteropolite documents, and may point to the origin of the family of this trader, who is only a long-term resident at Oxyrhynchus.

7 If *χαίρειν* stood before *ἀμολογῶ* (cf. 5373 9, 5378 6, [5390 10], 5395 7, 5396 8; contrast 5371 6, 5375 6, 5382 9, 5384 15), it will have been abbreviated, as it is in 5396 8.

ἐκουσία γνώμη is not followed by *καὶ ἀθαιρέτω προαιρέσει*; cf. 5373 9 and 5375 7, and see LXX 4787 11 n., P. Pintaudi 19.6 n.

7-8 For the oath formula, cf. 5371 7 and n.

9 *παρὰ τῷ ἐδόξω* [ἄμῶν οἴκω]. The restoration is probable (surely not [ἀνδρῖ] but unparalleled. *παρὰ* is normally followed by a reference to a person, usually in the form of an abstract; cf. 5371 7, 5373 11, 5375 8, etc.

N. GONIS

5373. DEED OF SURETY

54 1B.26(E)/C(5)b

21.6 × 23.8 cm

24 August 552

+ 53 1B.26(D)/F(2)a(1) + F(7)a

Another early deed of surety addressed to Apion II, but much better preserved than 5371 and 5372. Four persons, two of them being the headman and the secretary of the village of Sepho, pledge for two others from the same village; for a comparable situation, cf. 5378. As is commonly the case with sureties for persons originating from *κῶμαι* rather than *ἐποίκια*, those under surety are not *ἐναπόγραφοι*; cf. 5378, 5390, 5395. They were previously held in the 'public prison' of the city of Oxyrhynchus (17-18), which is of some interest: except for 5373 and apparently 5375, all other Apionic sureties refer to the 'prison of the glorious house', but they are later in date.

The writing runs along the fibres. Scant remains of the endorsement are visible on the back, running downwards, along the fibres.

† βασιλεία τοῦ θειοτάτου κ]αὶ ἐνσεβε[ετ(άτου) ἡ]μῶν [δεσπό]τ[ου] Φλ(αουῖου)
 Ἰου[ε]τιν[α]νοῦ το[ῦ αἰω]νίου Α[ἰ]γ(ούστου) κ]αὶ [Αὔ]τ[οκ]ρ[ά]-
 τορος ἔτους κς, τοῖς τὸ ια]" μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αουῖου) Βασιλείου τοῦ
 λαμπροτάτου, ἐπαγομένων α, ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ε) ιε.
 Φλαουῖω Ἀπίω τῷ πανεφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυσεῖ τῷ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδναριώ(ν)
 γεουχόντι καὶ ἐντ[αῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλει], διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ
 καὶ ἐπερωπῶντος
 5 καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότῃ τῷ αὐτῷ πανεφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ
 ἐνοχήν,
 Αὐρήλιο Παμο]ν υἱὸς Ἀλεούτος μητρὸς Ἑλένης κα[ὶ Ἰ]ωνᾶς γραμμ(ατεὺς) υἱὸς
 Δανηλίου
 μητρὸς ε.β]είης καὶ Ὠ[ρο]ς υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ καὶ Παμουθῆος υἱὸς Φοιβάμμωτος οἱ
 πάντες
 ὀρμῶμενοι ἀπ[ὸ] κ[ώ]μηε Σεφω τοῦ Ὀξυρυχ[ι]τῶν νομοῦ παγαρχουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς

- ὑμετέρας ὑπε]ρφυσίας, χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ ἐπομνύμε[νο]ῖ θεῶν
 τὸν
 10 παντοκράτορ]α καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τῆς καλλινίκου τύχης ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ
 ἀναδέχεσθαι] παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφυσίᾳ Αὐρηλίου Ἀλεοῦν υἱὸν Ἰανου καὶ
 Courouν
 υἱὸν . . .]λ[. . .]ος ὀρμωμένους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἀδιαλείπτως
 παραμε]ναί ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ καὶ μηδαμῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπολειπᾶνεσθαι μήτε μὴν
 μεθίστ]αζεσθαι εἰς ἕτερο[ν] τόπον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιζητουμένους αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐν
 οἰαδήποτε
 15 ἡμέρα, οἷας]δηποτοῦν ἔνεκεν προφάσεως, τ[οῦ]τους παραφέρομεν καὶ παρα-
 δώσομεν
 δημοσίᾳ ε]πί ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἐκτὸς ἀγίων περιβόλων καὶ θείων χαρακτήρων
 καὶ παντὸς τό]που προσφυγῆς ἔνθα αὐτοὺς καὶ παρελήφαμεν, ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ
 φυλακῇ τ]αύτης τῆς π[ό]λεως. ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν ὑπεύθυνοι εἶναι πᾶσι
 τοῖς πρὸς] αὐτοὺς ἐπιζητουμένοις ἀποκρίνασθαι. κυρία ἢ ἐγγύη ἀπλῆ γραφ[εῖα]
 καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες)
 20 ὠμολογ]σαμεν. (m.2) Αὐρηλίοι Παμουν μείζωνος υἱὸς Ἀλεοῦ καὶ Ἰωνᾶς
 γραμματεῦος
 υἱὸς Δα]νιῆλ καὶ Ὡρος υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ καὶ Παμ[ο]ύθιος υἱὸς Φοιβάμμωνος οἱ
 προγεγρα-
 μένοι] πιπεήμοιθα τήνδε τὴν ἐγγύην ἀναδεχόμενοι τοῖς προειρημένους
 Ἀλεοῦς καὶ Courouς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῆς προαναφεροῖ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγγύῃ γυντήμῃ
 ἡμῶν καὶ συμφων]εῖ ἡμῖν πάντα ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὠμο-
 25 λογῆσαμεν καὶ ἀπελύσαμεν. ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰωνᾶ]ς γραμματεῦος ἔγραφα ὑπέρ τε ἐμοῦ
] [.]

1 φλς 2 ὑπατιαν; I. ὑπατεῖαν φλς, λαμπρ', ἰνδξ 3 ὑπερφυσεσθαι, ὑπατων
 5 ἰδιω 6 (bis), 7 (bis) υἱος 6 ἰωνας: v. cogt. from a γραμμς 7, 21 ἰωσήφ 8 ὑπο
 10 ἐγγυασθαι 11 ὑμετεραῦπερφυσια, υἱον 13 I. ἀπολειπᾶνεσθαι 16 χαρακτηρων: χ
 cogt. from κ 19 ἐγγύη, γραφ, επερω 20 I. μείζων ιωνας 20, 25 I. γραμματεῖκ
 21-2 I. προγεγραμμένοι πεποιήμεθα 22 I. τοῦς 23 I. Ἀλεοῦν καὶ Courouν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
 προαναφερομένοις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐγγύῃ κινδύνω 24 I. ἡμῖν προσ

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, Flavius Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 26, the 11th time under the consuls after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *vir clarissimus*, epagomenal 1, indiction 15.

'To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius*, landowner also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), we, Aurelii Pamun son of Aleus, mother Helena, and Ionas, secretary, son of Danielius, mother —eia, and Horus son of Joseph and Pamuthius son of Phoibammon, all originating from the village of Sepho of the Oxyrhynchite nome, administered by your extraordinariness, greeting. We acknowledge by willing resolve, swearing by God almighty and the piety and victory of the gloriously triumphant fortune, that we guarantee and pledge to your extraordinariness Aurelii Aleus son of Anup and Sourous son of ... originating from the same village, so that they remain continuously in the same village and by no means leave nor transfer to another place, but if they are required of us on whatever day for whatever reason, we shall produce and deliver them in a public place in this city, without recourse to holy precincts and imperial portraits and any place of refuge, where we have also received them, in the public prison of this city. Or if we fail to do this, we acknowledge ourselves accountable to answer for all that is required of them. The surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question we assented.' (2nd hand) 'Aurelii Pamun, headman, son of Aleu, and Ionas, secretary, son of Daniel, and Horus son of Joseph, and Pamuthius son of Phoibammon, the aforewritten (persons), have made this deed of surety pledging for the aforesaid Aleus and Sourous upon all the (conditions) aforementioned in this surety, at our own risk, and everything satisfies us as stated above, and in reply to the formal question we assented and delivered (the contract). I, the same Ionas, secretary, wrote for myself and ...'

1–2 The regnal (26) and consular (11) years are restored on the basis of the indiction; see *CSBE*² 150. Basiliius' postconsular year as restored follows the traditional reckoning, on the analogy of 5371.

3 ἀπό ὑπάτων ὀρδινάριω(ν). The error may be due to confusion with the earlier description of Apion II in such contexts as ὑπάτω ὀρδινάριω (cf. 5369 5–6 n.).

6 Παμο]ν υἱὸς Ἀλεούτος: called Παμο]ν μείζωνος υἱὸς Ἀλεοῦ in the signature (20), which is written by a different hand.

γραμμα(τεύς). Α γραμματεὺς acts with a μείζων also in 5378.

8 Σεφω. See *RSO*N² 337–9. This village's links with the Apion estate are amply attested.

παγαρχουμένης. Cf. 5371 5 and n.

9 ἑκουσίῳ γνήμῳ. Cf. 5372 7 and n.

9–10 For the oath formula, cf. 5371 7 and n.

15–17 The closest parallel to this clause comes from XIX 2238 15–17 (551), which provides the basis for the supplements; for a similar case, cf. 23–4 n. Cf. also 5379 2–3.

16 ἐκτὸς ἀγίων περιβόλων καὶ θείων χαρακτήρων. Cf. 5375 15–16 and 5379 2–3; see LV 3791 3 n.

17–18 ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ |φυλακῇ τ|αύτης τῆς π[ό]λεως. With the exception of 5373 and 5375, all other Apionic sureties from Oxyrhynchus refer to the prison 'of the glorious house', first in 5377 5–6 (565/6 or 580/81) or 5378 15 (571–8), though cf. the references in PSI VIII 933 (l. 37, etc.), an account that most probably dates from 567/8. (5373 is the papyrus mentioned in Hickey, *Wine* 95 n. 15.)

19 ἐπερωτηθέντες) is abbreviated as ἐπερω: see 5378 18 n.

20 μείζωνος, l. μείζων. Village headmen act as guarantors also in 4787 (564), 5377, and 5378; ex-headmen in 4794 (580) and 5390 (588). On the functions of these officials, see L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden* (2017) 53–82.

γραμματεύς. Cf. 25. This idiosyncratic form of γραμματεὺς has occurred in SB XVI 12384.19 (Herm.: 362).

23-4 Cf. 2238 26-7 ἐπί πα[σι]ν το[ις] προαναφερομένοις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐγγύῃ κινδύνῳ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν [ὑποστ(άσει)] κ[αὶ] κυ[ρι]ομ[υ]νε[ί] ἡμῖν πάντα ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται (so WBH after BL XIII 157).
25 A secretary subscribes on behalf of the collective body of village administrators in I 133 (550).

N. GONIS

5374. LEASE OF LAND

54 1B.25(B)/C(1)2(1)

36.9 × 7.2 cm

552/3

Plate XIII

The conclusion of the subscription of the lessees of an unknown number of aruras, written by Apollos son of Apanakios (see 5370 9 n.). The document was signed by the notary Victor. The date by month and indiction is given in his signature, but the name of the month, apparently written in shorthand (see 5367 8 n.), remains elusive.

The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

[. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .]
τῆνδε τὴν μίσθωσιν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀρουρῶν καὶ ἀποδώσομεν τὸν προκε[μ]νον
φ[όρον]]
καὶ στοιχ(εῖ) ἡμῖν πάντα ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται. Απο[λ]ῶς Απανακίου ἀξ(ιωθεῖς)
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμ(άτων) ὄντων.+
(m.2) ⌘ di e[m]u Victoras etelioth signis id (ινδικτίωσος) α

3 στοιχς, προμ, ἀξ, αγραμμς 4 δ = (ινδικτίωσος)

'... this lease of the said aruras and we shall deliver the aforesaid rent ..., and everything satisfies us as aforesaid. I, Apollos son of Apanakios, wrote for them at their request because they are illiterate.' (2nd hand) 'Completed through me, Victor. (signis) 14, indiction 1.'

2 τῆνδε τὴν μίσθωσιν would have been governed by πεποιήμεθα at the end of the previous line.] [. Possibly ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται], with the trace representing the abbreviation stroke, but the phrase is used in the next line.

4 This notary named Victor was previously known from XIX 2238 29 (551) and LXCVII 5123 22 (555); in the latter text Victor also signs on behalf of illiterates and calls himself the son of Philoxenus, no doubt the notary of this name. [Another instance is furnished by 54 1B.25(B)/A(5)a of 553/4, edited by M. Mountford in her UCL PhD thesis (2011); there too the amanuensis is Apollos son of Apanakios.] The signatures in 2238 and 5123 are discussed by Azzarello (above, 5367 8 n.) 62-4, who has improved the reading and revised the dating of 5123. Victor writes the same shorthand signs after etelioth in all of his signatures, followed in each case by a symbol indicating the name of the month, placed before the first Greek numerals. An idiosyncratic feature, which he shares with his father Philoxenus, is the short stroke under the symbol for the indiction.

In view of the dates of 2238 and 5123, indiction 1 in 5374 should correspond to 552/3. The symbol for the month is very similar to that in 5123, where the month is Pachon or Payni; if one of the two months is to be recognized here, the date will be 9 May or 8 June 553.

N. GONIS

5375. DEED OF SURETY

13 1B.132/D(c)

25 x 22.8 cm

18 June 557

A surety for two brothers, both of them *adscripticii*. The main interest of the document lies in the function of the guarantor, an *ἐπικείμενος* και ἐνο[ι]κολόγος τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου Ἀπίωνος (6). This would be a strange way of referring to Apion the former consul, mentioned in the prescript four lines above; furthermore, the epithet ἐνδοξότατος indicates a rank lower than that of Apion II (though cf. above, 5372 3), and the functionary could have stated his affiliation as τοῦ ἐνδοξοῦ οἴκου. The term οὐσία is also uncommon in documents of the Apion estate (see below, 6 n.). It seems reasonable to assume that this is a different Apion; contemporary documents offer a good candidate, addressed as Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι τοῦ ἐντοξοτάτου (l. τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ) στρατηλάτῃ in LXX 4786 7 (551). He may be the Arsinoite στρατηλάτης of this name, earlier identified with Apion II; see further 4786 introd.

The text is written along the fibres. On the back there are the remains of two lines of the endorsement (2 ἀναδ)εχ(ομένου) Ἀνοῦθι(ον) [?], written downwards along the fibres.

Παυ[ν]ι κδ̄, ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ε) ε, ἐν Ὀξυρύγγ(ων) πόλει //
 Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι τ]ῷ πανευφήμῳ και ὑπερφυστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδ[ι]ναρίων
 γεουχοῦν[τ]ι(i)
 και ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυ]ρυγγιτῶν πόλει, διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτωντος
 και προσπορίζοντ(ος)
 τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ α[ῦ]τῷ παγευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν και ἐνοχὴν :
 Γεώργιος
 υἱὸς τοῦ τ]ῆς μ[ακ]α]ρίας μνήμης Ἀπολλῶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, ἐξῆς ὑπο-
 γράφων ἰδίῳις
 γράμμασιν, ἐπικείμενος και ἐνο[ι]κολόγος τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου Ἀπίωνος.
 ὁμολογῶ ἐκ[ο]μεία γνώμη ἐπομνύμενος Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα και τὴν
 εὐσέβειαν
 τῆς καλλινίκου τύχης ἐγγυᾶσθαι και ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυσεία :
 Αὔρηλιος
 Ἀνοῦθιος και Φιλέα ἰ' ὁμογενεῖος ἀδελφῶς ἐκ πατρὸς Φοιβάμμωνος μητρὸς
 Μαύρας

10 ἐναπογράφους γεωργούς τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας ὀρωμένους ἀπὸ ἐποίκιου . . .
 c.8 διαφέροντος αὐτῆ τοῦ Ὁξ[υρ]υγχίτου νομοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦς
 παραμείναι ἐν
 τῷ αὐτῷ κτήματι μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν φιλάτων καὶ γαμετῶν καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ
 πάσης
 τῆς αὐτῶν ἀποσκευῆς ντ]ας πάντα τὰ ὄρωντα τὸ αὐτῶν πρόσωπο(ν)
 ἥτοι τὴν τοῦ ἐναπογράφου τύχην,] οὐστίνας ἐπιζητουμένους πρὸς ἐμὲ παροίω
 15 καὶ παραδώσω ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ φυλακῇ] ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἐκτός ἀγίων
 περιβόλων
 καὶ θείων χαρακτῆρων καὶ] πα[ντὸς] τόπου προσφυγῆς ἔνθα αὐτοὺς καὶ
 παρείληφα,
 ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω ὑπεύθυνος ἔ[σ]ομαι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπιζητουμένοις πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς
 ἀποκρίναςθαι ὑποθέμ]ενος εἰς τὸ δίκαιον ταύτης τῆς ἐγγυῆς ἀπαντὰ μου τὰ
 ὑπάρχον]τα κ[α] [ἰ] [ὑπάρ]ξοντα ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθ[η]κ[η]ς
 20 δικαίω.] κυρία ἢ ἐγγυῆ ἀπλ[η] γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα. †
 (m.2) † Γεώργι]ος υἱ[ὸς] τοῦ μακαρ[ίου] Ἀπ[ο]λλῶς ὁ προγεγραμμένος
] . ε . . . τ]οῦ[ς] π]ροκειμένους Ἄνουθ[ιο]ν καὶ Φιλέαν
 ὡς πρὸς[ε]ιτ]α[ι]

1 ἰνδ^ξ οξυρυχ^ς 2 ὑπερφυεστατω, ὑπατων, γεουχου[τ]ῆ 3 ἰ. ἐπερωτῶτος
 προσποριζον^ν 5 ὑπογραφων, ιδιοις 8 ὑμωνυπερφυεια 10 ὑμωνυπερφυειας
 13 προσωπο 19 ἰδικως; ἰ. εἰδικῶς 20 απλ 21 ἰ. Ἀπολλῶ, προγεγραμμένος

... Rayni 24, indiction 5, in the city of the Oxyrhynchi.

To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius*, landowner also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Georgius son of Apollon of blessed memory, from the same city, signing below in my own letters, superintendent and rent-collector of the estate of the most glorious Apion. I acknowledge by willing resolve, swearing by God almighty and the piety of the gloriously triumphant fortune, that I guarantee and pledge to your extraordinariness Aurelii Anuthius and Phileas, full brothers, of father Phoibammon, mother Maura, registered farmers of your extraordinariness, originating from the hamlet of . . . , belonging to you in the Oxyrhynchite nome, on condition that they remain in the said holding with their dearest ones and wives and animals and all their household stuff, . . . everything that pertains to their persons, that is, the condition of the *ascripticius*, whom, if they are required of me, I shall produce and deliver in the public prison of this city, without recourse to holy precincts or imperial portraits or any place of refuge, where I have also received them. Or if I fail to do this, I shall be accountable to answer for all that is required of them, having pledged for the legal force of this surety all my belongings, present

and future, in particular and in general, by way of pledge and by right of mortgage. The surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I assented.' (2nd hand) 'I, Georgius, son of the blessed Apollon, the aforewritten (person), ... the aforementioned Anuthius and Phileas ... as aforesaid ...'

1 As the patriariate is absent from Apion II's titulature, this indiction 5 should correspond to 556/7.

4 The colon is placed in the same position in 5390 7. It recurs below in 8, again before names. For other examples, see G. A. J. C. van Loon, *BASP* 54 (2017) 131.

Γεώργιος is not styled an Aurelius, unlike the persons under surety. For other estate functionaries not identified as Aurelii, see LXIX 4754 7 (572) or XIX 2239 6 (598); there is no need to assume that he was a clergyman. Cf. 5395, where the guarantor appears without a *gentilicium* though as a civil servant he would have been a Flavius.

6 ἔπικείμενος καὶ ἐνοικολόγος τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου Ἀπίωνος. On this Apion's identity, see above, introd. The term οὐσία is not used for the Apion estate at this time, though cf. 5377 2 and n.

ἔπικείμενοι represent various Oxxyrhynchite nobles and estates in this period: the Holy Church of Oxxyrhynchus in XIX 2238 (551); the *patricia* Fl. Maria in 4754 (mentioned after a διοικητής); the *domus divina* in XVI 1892 (581); cf. also 2239, a work contract of an ἔπικείμενος with the *stratelates* Fl. Ioannes. We do not find many ἔπικείμενοι in the service of the Apions; the evidence is collected in LV 3805 35 n. On the other hand, ἐνοικολόγοι, collectors of rents of city properties, are more familiar. LVIII 3958 (614), a work contract for an ἐνοικολόγος with Apion III, is important for our knowledge of this function; see also the discussions in LVI 3870 7 n. and CPR XIV 45 introd.

7 ἐκ[ο]υρία γνώμη. Cf. 5372 7 and n.

7–8 For the oath formula, cf. 5371 7 and n.

10–11 ἐποικίον . . . | ε.8 . The first letter of the name of the hamlet may be xi or zeta.

13 ν]ας. E.g. πληροῦν]ας would fit but there is no precise parallel.

14 παροίω is attested in a small number of sureties; παραφέρω is commoner. Cf. 5395 16, and see LXIX 4757 5 n.; L. Berkes, *JJP* 44 (2014) 76 (5 n.).

15 ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ φυλακῇ] τούτης τῆς πόλεως. The phrase as restored suits the space but again it is not exactly paralleled. The reference to the prison comes after παρελήφα in 5373 17, though contrast 5378 15, which has it after παραβύς[ο]μεν; cf. also P. Pintaudi 19.23. XIX 2238 16 and apparently 5373 16 have δημοσίᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως at this point, but this would be too short for the lacuna here, and we need a reference to the prison. On this prison, see 5373 17–18 n.

15–16 ἐκτός ἁγίων περιβάλλον [καὶ θείων χαρακτήρων. See 5373 16 n.

21 ὁ προγραμμένος. The reading is difficult: what is printed builds on a suggestion of S. Kovarik.

22 Surface damage and the inexpert handwriting stand in the way of decipherment. If a common formula was used, perhaps read ἐγγυῶμα| κα[ὶ] ἀν[α]δέχ[ομαι] τ[οῦ] [ε]π[ρο]γραμμένου (W/BH).

N. GONIS

5376. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

53 1B.26(D)/D(8)α(1) + F(11)α(1)

23 x 13.6 cm

560/61
Plate XIV

This is the first document to attest a well-known scribe as a notary: the body of the text and the subscription are written by Apollon son of Apanakios, and the signature of the notary who identifies himself as 'Apollon, contract-writer' is in the same hand.

The writing runs along the fibres.

- ἐαυτῆς πραγμάτων τὸν αὐτὸν [ᾱ]ξου[α ἀ]ορασθ[έντα πα]ρ' ἐμοῦ τ[ῆ]ν
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν λογισθεῖσά[ν] μοι παρὰ τῶν διαφερόντων τῆ ἡμῶν
 ὑπερφ[υεῖα] καινὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἀντλη[τρικὸν] εὐάρεστον ἐδεξάμην εἰς ἀνα-
 πλήρ[ωσιν]
 πάντων τῶν μηχανικῶν ὁρ[γάνων] ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ἧτις ἐστὶν
 5 ε.15 τοῦ ἐ[σ]ετώτος ἔτους κλ̄ζς τῆς παρούσης ἐνάτης
 ἰ]ν[δ] (ικτίωνος), [ὑδ]ρ[οπαροχίας καρπῶ]ν τῆς [κὺν] Θεῶ δεκάτης ἐπι(εμ[ή]-
 σεως). καὶ πρός
 ἀποδείξει[ν τῆς] ὑποδ[ο]χ[ῆς] ταύτην πεποιθίμαι τὴν χειρογραφ[ίαν], ἧτις
 κυρ[εία] οὐσα ἀπλ[ῆ] [γρα]φ[εία] καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος
 Γεώργιος υἱὸς Ἄνουπ
 ὁ προγεγραμμ[ένος] πεπ[ο]ίημαι τήνδε τὴν χειρογραφ[ίαν] ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν
 ἄξονα καὶ
 10 στοιχ[εῖ] μοι πάντα ὧ[ς] πρόκ[ε]ιται. Ἀπολλ[λ]ῶς υἱὸς Ἀπα[ν]ακίου ἀξ[ίω]θεῖς
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγρ[αμμάτου] ὄντος.
 (m.2) γί(νεται) ἄξων εἰς δοθεῖς Γεωργίῳ ἀπὸ []εῖτος.
 (m.1) + δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀπολλῶ συμβολ[αιογράφου] ἐτελ(ειώθη). X di emu Apollo
 etelio(i)h(e) ///

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

χειρογραφία]... ἀπὸ ...
 ὑποδοχῆς ἄξονος] ἐνόσ.

2 ἡμῶν 3 ἀναπληρ 6 ἐπιν5 7, 9 χειρογραφ 8 κυρ. ἀπλ[ῆ] γραφ. ἐπερ
 8, 10 υἱός 9 προγεγραμμ., ὑποδεξάμενος 10 στοιχ., προψ. ἀξ. ὑπερ. σφρ 11 γρ
 12 συμβολητέβ

'... of its affairs, (provided) the said axle, bought by me, its price put down to me by the dependants of your extraordinariness, new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, (which) I received as completion of all the irrigation implements on this very day, which is ... of the current year 237/206 of the present ninth indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the God willing tenth *princetis*. And in declaration of the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question I assented. I, Aurelius Georgius son of Anup, the aforewritten (person), have made this cheirograph, having received the axle, and everything satisfies me as aforesaid. I, Apollon son of Aranakios, wrote for him at his request because he is illiterate.'

(2nd hand) 'Total one axle, given to Georgius from ...'

(1st hand) (Greek alphabet) 'Completed through me, Apollos, contract-writer.' (Roman alphabet) 'Completed through me, Apollos.'

Back: 'Cheirograph (of Georgius son of Anup?) from ... for the receipt of one axle'.

1-2 The wording of the clause is not exactly paralleled, but may be compared to that of I 197 = P. Lond. III 776.14-15 (552) ταῦτα ἀγορασθέντα | παρὰ τῶν αὐτῆ διαφερόντων ἐν ἀγροῖς and LXX 4788 17-19 (566) τῶν [α]ὐτ[ό]ν ἀξονα ἀγορασθέντα πα[ρ] ἐμοῦ ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ τὴν ὑπέθ[] | τούτου τιμὴν λογιθεῖσάν μοι ὑσ[ί]ρ c.20 | | πεντεκαίδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τιάνος). Axles were normally bought 'in the fields' (cf. e.g. 5393 17), but ἐν ἀγροῖς was not written here (nor was καὶ after ἐμοῦ); ἐν ἀγροῖς is also missing from XVI 1989 17 (590).

5 Year 237/206 = indiction 9 = 560/61.

11 On such annotations see LXX 4788 31 n., and cf. below, 5385 32.

[[]εἰτος: Ψ[]εἰτος or even Ψ[]εἰτος (both tentatively suggested by A. Benaissa) would suit, but they do not match any known toponym. Not Ιβ[ά]τος or Ιβ[ό]εἰτος.

12 Apollos' signature follows the same digraphic pattern as Philoxenus' in 5365 and 5367; see above, 5367 8 n.

13-14 The typical structure of such endorsements is χειρογραφία + name of the recipient of the replacement part + his origin + ὑποδοχῆς + name of the replacement part. Γεωργίου υἱοῦ Ἄνουθ would not fill the remainder of the lacuna in 13. The traces after ἀπό do not match what is read of the place name in 11.

N. GONIS

5377. DEED OF SURETY

12 1B.136/G(a)

21.3 × 16.3 cm

565/6 or 580/81

Plate XIV

This is an unusual document, apparently a surety (see 9 n.) but phrased differently from others of this kind. It concerns someone who was to be brought to prison if he failed to pay his taxes; the surety may have been drawn up after a missed payment. It is unclear whether this person had been in prison; see 5-6 n. The document was signed by Pamuthius, headman of Tampeti, the guarantor in 5378. A point of special interest is the probable reference to the 'estate part' of a village; see 2 n.

The text is written along the fibres.

νομού π[αγα]ρχουμέν[ης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνδό]ξου . [.] [. . . οἰ]κου
 ἄστις [. . .] γεωργῶν τοῦ οὐσιακοῦ τῆς ἐμῆς κώμης
 ἀπορη[] κας περὶ τὰ συν[]ε]λούμενα παρ' αὐτοῦ δημόσια
 τῆς τε[] κκα[] κκαϊδεκ[άτ]ης ἰνδικτιόν[ο]ς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμῶν τοῦτ[ο]ν
 5 παρεν[] κείν καὶ παραδοῦναι διχ[] λόγου ἐν τῇ φυλακ[] ἡ
 τοῦ ἐν[] δόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου, εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμῶν
 οἴκθην τῶν δημ[] οἰον αὐτοῦ διδόναι τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυεῖα τῆς

αὐτῆς τεσσαρακαιδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) κινδύνῳ ἐμῶ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς
 ὑποστάσεως. κυρ(ία) ἢ εἰ[γγύη ἀπλ(ῆ)] γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς
 ὡμολ(όγησα).+

10 (m.2) + Παμο[ύθιος] μείζ(ων) νί[ος τοῦ μα]καρίου [Μ]ωείου στηχ(εῖ) πά[ν]τα
 τὰ π[ρογεγρα]μμέν[α ὡς πρόκειται καὶ] ἀναδ[έχομαι

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

(m. 1)] . [c.13] Ταμπετι τ . . . [τοῦ ἐνδόξου
] οἴκου +

4 ἰνδικτιον[ο]ς 6, 7 ὡμῶν 7 ὑπερφειεία 8 ἰνδ, 9 υποστάσεως, κυρ, γραφ,
 ἐπερωμολῶ 10 μείζ στηχ; i. στοιχεῖ

'... nome, administered also by ... glorious house, who (of the?) farmers of the estate part of my village, if he should be at a loss as regards the taxes of the fourteenth indiction paid by him—on condition that I present and deliver him without (recourse to) a letter of safe-conduct in the prison of your glorious house, but if I do not do this, on condition that I pay from my home his tax of the same fourteenth indiction to your extraordinariness at my own risk and that of my own belongings. The surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I assented.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Pamuthius, headman, son of the blessed Asocius—everything aforesaid is satisfactory as aforesaid, and I pledge for ...'

Back: (1st hand) '... Tampeti ... of the glorious house.'

1 π[αγα]ρχουμίν[ης] καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνδόξου . [.] . . . οἴ]κου. Cf. 5378 5-6 and n. The endorsement indicates that the village is Tampeti, which is also where Pamuthius operates.] . [is a long descender, which rules out the expected ὡμῶν. I have considered εἰ[θ]ήτης, paralleled in this context only by I 136 18, 21 (583), but it seems too short for the space.

2 [. . .] γεωργῶν. Perhaps [τῶν] γεωργῶν, implying a form of the verb 'to be', but this would be curious Greek in a text of this kind and date. I have also considered [εν]γεωργῶν, but there are obvious difficulties.

οὐσιασθῶ (suggested by S. Kovarik) is the best interpretation of the writing; the first upsilon is difficult, but it is hard to see what else could be meant. There is no parallel except perhaps for P Neph. 27.1-2 (336/7) ταμιακοῦ κώμης Τερόθειας; even the adjective οὐσιασθῶς is rare in this period. If the reading is correct, it would refer to the part of the village, or rather the lands around it, that belonged to the estate.

3 ἀπορη[σας]. The verb ἀπορῶ is not common in papyri (one instance stems from a misreading; in SB XVIII 13887.2, for τῶς ἀπορήσαντας read εὐπορήσαντας).

τὰ συντ[ε]λούμενα παρ' αὐτοῦ δημόσια. For another reference to the payment of taxes, see PSI I 62.19 (Oxy.; 613); cf. also 5382 15 n. (rents).

4 τε[σσαρα]καιδεκα[τ]ῆς ἰνδικτιον[ο]ς. Cf. 8. In view of the dating of 5378 to 571-8 and of the likely appearance of Pamuthius in XIX 2244, which is not later than 558 (see 5378 4 n.), this indiction 14 corresponds either to 565/6 or 580/81. If Pamuthius is a clergyman in 5378, 5377 will be earlier (see below, 10 n.); but cf. also 5 n., paragraph 2.

ἐπὶ τῷ. After δεῖται ... ἀπορή[σας] κτλ., we expect 'will be presented and delivered by me' or the like. Instead the scribe switches to the familiar construction with ἐπὶ τῷ. Cf. 5396 12-13 and n.

ἡ παρε[ρ]κεῖν (read by WBH) has no parallel among Oxyrhynchite sureties, and is attested only in those from Aphrodito: see e.g. P. Cair. Masp. III 67296.9 (535) or P. Flor. III 284.10 (538).

διχ[α] λόγου. The closest parallels to this use of the phrase come from the seventh century. See LXX 4802 13 n.; add XVI 1979 = SB XXVIII 17002.19 (614). 1979 and 4802 (and 4801) are the work of the same scribe, whose hand is very similar to that of 5377. as WBH observes. If the same scribe is responsible for all these texts, 5377 is unlikely to date to 565/6; but it is difficult to be sure about the identification when the texts are dated so far apart.

5-6 ἐν τῇ φυλακ[ῇ] τοῦ ἐν[δ]όξου ὑμῶν οἴκου. Cf. 5378 15, 5379 3-4, 5382 19, 5384 28, 5395 17, 5397 8-9. If the text dates from 565/6, this will be the earliest attestation of this prison; see further 5373 17-18 n. WBH observes that the omission of ἐνθα αὐτὸν καὶ παρεῖληθα or the like is unparalleled elsewhere in sureties where a prison is mentioned.

6-9 Cf. P. Lond. V 1793.15-17 (Herm., 471 or 472) εἰ δὲ ἀπολειφθεῖη καὶ μὴ παραστής, ἐγὼ αὐτὸς οἴκοθεν ὄ[π]ιρ | [α]ὐτοῦ ἀποδώσω τὰ δημόσια τῆς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς μόνα κιν[δύ]νω ἐβ[ε]ψ και πάστ[ε]ς τῆ[ε] ἐμῆς ὑποστά[ε]ως.

9 ἔγγυή suits the traces better than ἑ[μ]ολογία.

10 There is no room for ἐλάχ[ε]ρος in the lacuna; contrast 5378 18. The hand of the subscription is the same in both texts.

11 ἀναδ[ε]χόμενοι was suggested by WBH, who compares LXIX 4757 10-11 πεποιήμαι ταύτην | τῆν ἐγγύην ε[α]ἰ ἀναδέχομαι(αι) κτλ.

12 ? . . .]. The first letter could also be γ; before the break, possibly an abbreviation stroke (ζέωρ[γο]θ cannot be read). This is the beginning of the occupation of the person under surety, who will presumably have been an employee of the 'glorious house'.

N. GONIS

5378. DEED OF SURETY

13 1B.130/C(a)1 + 76/10 (1B.130/C(1))

37.3 × 28.5 cm

c.571-8

Plate XVIII (ll. 18-21)

A village headman who also appears in 5377, a steward of a new monastery, and a secretary, all three from the village of Tampakti, submit this deed of surety for eight persons from the same village. None of them is an *adscripticius*; what is remarkable is the reference to their *vicanæ condicio* (13, το[ῦ] κωμῆτορ[ος] | τῆ[ε]ς). The term, which recurs in 5395, is new in the papyri but known from the codes.

The document is addressed to Fl. Apion II. The date clause is lost, but the reference to the 'New City of Iustinus' (2-3; 6), the name that Oxyrhynchus took under Iustinus II, places the text between 571 and 578 (see LXXI 4835 8 n.).

The text is written along the fibres.

Φλ(αουϕ) Απίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
 ὀρ[ιδινα]ρ[ί]ων καὶ πατρικίῳ, γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ Νεῖα Ἰουκτίνου
 πόλει, διὰ Μηνᾶ] οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτώντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ
 δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν
 καὶ ἐνοχῆν, Αὐ]ρήλιοι Παμουθιοι μεϊζων υἱὸς Ἀσοείου καὶ Ἰωάννη[ς] οἰκονόμος
 τοῦ τόπου τῆς ἁγίας ἀμα Βης υἱὸς Παύλου
 5 καὶ Ἀνούθιο[ς] γραμματέες υἱὸς Παμουθίου ἐτέρου, οἱ τρεῖς ὁρμώμενοι ἀπὸ
 κώμης Ταμπετι παγαρχουμένης
 καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνδόξου] οἰ[κου] τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυεῖας τοῦ Ἰουκτινοπολίτου νομοῦ,
 χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐκουσία γνώμη
 καὶ αὐθαίρ]έτῳ προα[ίρεσε]ι ἐπωμνύμενοι τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσιμον ὄρκον
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῇ ὑμῶν
 ὑπ[ερφυ]εῖα διὰ τῶν ἀ[ὐτῇ] π[ροσκηκόντων] Αὐρηλί(ο)ς Βίκτορα υἱὸν Φιβ καὶ
 Ὀνωφρίον υἱὸν Ἀπολλῶ καὶ Ἀπολλῶν
 ἔτ[ερον] υἱὸν Καλάμ[μ]ων[ο]ς καὶ Φιλόξενον Καλάμμωνος ἐτέρου καὶ Παμου
 υἱὸν Ἀρεῶτου καὶ Ἰσακ υἱὸν Παμουθίου
 10 καὶ [. . .]ειον υἱὸν Ψε[ε]ίρου καὶ Ὀνωφρίον ἕτερον υἱὸν Ἰωάννου ὁρμωμένους
 καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης,
 ἐφ' ᾧτε αὐτο[ύς] ἀδία[λει]πτως διάγειν καὶ παραμείναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν κώμῃ μετὰ
 τῶν γαμετῶν αὐτῶν καὶ φιλάτων καὶ
 κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης [τ]ῆς αὐτῶν ἀποσκευῆς ἀποκρινομένου εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ
 ὄρωντα τὸ ἀ[ὐ]τῶν πρό[ς]ωπον ἢ τ[ο]ι τῆν
 το[ῦ] κωμητοῦ [τύχη]ν καὶ μ[η]δαμῶς αὐτ[οῦ]ς καταλείψ[αι] τὴν αὐτῆ[ν]
 κώμην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐ[πι]ζητομένους αὐτ[οῦ]ς ἐκ [τῶν
 ἐχ[γυνη]τῶν παρὰ τῆ[ς] ὑμῶν] ὑπερ[φυ]εῖας ἐνεκ[ε]ν δημοσίω[ν] ἀ[ὐ]τῶν ἢ
 [έτε]ρας [α]ίτι[α]ς τούτους [ἢ] τὸν ἐπιζ[ητ]οῦμ(ενον) ἐξ ἀ[ὐ]τῶν
 15 πα[ρ]αφέρομεν καὶ παραδῶ[ο]μεν ἐν τῇ [φυ]λακῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνδ[όξ]ου
 οἴκου [δί]χα παντ[ό]ς τόπου π[ρο]ςφυγη[ς] εἴ[θ]εθα
 αὐτ[ο]ῦς καὶ παρε[ί]λ[η]θαμεν. ἢ [εἰ] μὴ τοῦτο πο[ι]νήσομεν ὁ[μ]ολογοῦμ[εν]
 ὑ[περ]ε[ύθ]υ[νο]ι εἶναι π[ᾶ]σαν τρι[ς] πρὸς αὐ[τούς]
 ἐπιζητουμένο[ι]ς ἀποκρίνα[σθα]ι ἀποτατό[με]νοι τῷ π[ρο]νομίῳ τῶν]
 ἐγγυητῶν] κινδύνω [τῶν] ἡμῶν ὑ[περ]χόντων. κυρ(ία)

- ἡ ἐγγύη ἀπλή γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἔπερ(ωτηθέντες) [ώμ]ολ(ογήσαμεν). (m.2) †
 Πα[μου]θιος ἐλάχ(ιστος) [μεί]ζ(ων) υἱὸς τοῦ μ[α]κ[α]ρίου Ἀσω[εῖου] ὁ
 προγεγ[ραμ]μένος ε[τοιχ]εῖ c.10
 (m.3) † Ἰωάννου οἰκονό[μος] ἀμα Βης υἱὸς τ[οῦ] μακαρ[ίου] Παύλου ὁ
 π[ρογ]εγραμ[έν]ος ε[τοιχ]εῖ ἡ [πα]ροῦσα εἴγγ[υ]ή ὅς πρό[κειται].
 20 (m.4) † Αὐρήλιος Ἀνούθιος γραμμα[τεὺ]ς υἱὸς Παμουθ[ίου] ὁ προγε-
 γρα[μ]μένος ε[τοιχ]εῖ ἡ παροῦσα [] ἐνγεοιη [ώ]ς πρόκει[ται].
 (m.5) ✠ δι ε[μ]η [λο]αβηνου συ[μ]β[ολαιογραφου] εἰελ(ισθη)†

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† ἐγγύη γεναμ(ένη) π(αρά) Παμουθ[ί]ου μείζ(ονος) καὶ Ἰωάννου οἰκονόμου
 το[ῦ] τόπου
 τῆς ἀγίας ἀμα Βης καὶ Ἀνουθίου γραμ[μ]α(τέως) . . . [] . []

2 ὑπερφύετατω, ὕπατων, ἰουκτινοῦ	3 ἰδω	4 (bis), 5 ὕιος	4 ἰωαννη[ς]
5 l. γραμματεὺς	6, 7 ὕμων	6 ἰουκτινοπολιτου	7 l. ἐπομύμενοι
9 ὕιον, υἱον (bis), ἰσακ	10 υἱον (bis), ἰωαννου	14 ἐπιζ[η]τουμ[ς]	18 ἐπερα[ωμ]ολλ[ς],
ελαχ[ι]μ[ε]ιζ, ἀσώ[]	19 l. Ἰωάννης, προγεγραμμένος	ετυχ[ς]; ἰ. ετοιχεῖ	l. ὡς
ἐγγύη	22 με[] ἰωαννου		20 l. ετοιχεῖ,

'... To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary former *consul ordinarius* and *patri-
 cius*, landowner also here in the New City of Iustinus, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal
 question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility
 for (the transaction), Aurelius Pamuthius, headman, son of Asoeios, and Ioannes, steward of the (holy)
 place of saint Ama Bes, son of Paulus, and Anuthius, secretary, son of another Pamuthius, all three origi-
 nating from the village of Tampei of the Iustinopolite nome, administered also by the glorious house of
 your extraordinariness, greeting. We acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, swearing the
 divine and august oath, that we guarantee and pledge to your extraordinariness, through your subordi-
 nates, Aurelii Victor son of Phib, and Onnophris son of Apollon, and another Apollon son of Calammon,
 and Philoxenus son of another Calammon, and Pamun son of Hareotes, and Isac son of Pamuthius,
 and —cius son of Psecius, and another Onnophris son of Ioannes, themselves too originating from
 the same village, on condition that they shall remain continuously and abide in their village with their
 wives and dearest ones and animals and all their things, being responsible for everything that pertains
 to their persons, that is, the condition of the villager; and they shall by no means leave the same village,
 but if they are required from the guarantors by your extraordinariness because of their taxes or another
 reason we shall produce and deliver them, or the one of them who is required, at the prison of the same
 glorious house, without recourse to any place of refuge, where we have also received them. Or if we fail
 to do this, we acknowledge ourselves accountable to answer for all that is required of them, waiving the
 privilege of guarantors, at the risk of our belongings. The surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and
 in reply to the formal question we assented.' (2nd hand) 'I, Pamuthius, the least headman, son of the
 blessed Asoeios, the aforewritten person—(the present surety?) is satisfactory (as aforesaid?).' (3rd hand)
 'I, Ioannes, steward of Ama Bes, son of the blessed Paulus, the aforewritten person—the present surety is

satisfactory as aforesaid.' (4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Anuthius, secretary, son of Pamuthius, the aforeswritten person—the present surety is satisfactory as aforesaid.'

(5th hand) 'Completed through me, Ioannes, contract writer.'

Back: 'Surety made by Pamuthius, headman, and Ioannes, steward of the (holy) place of saint Ama Bes, and Anuthius, secretary, ...'

1 Exiguus remains of the last line of the date clause.

4 Ἀὐ|ρηλί|οι| Παμουθί|ος| μεζων| υἱ|ος| Ἡ|κοεί|ου|. Pamuthius calls himself ἐλάχι(στερος) in his subscription (18), which implies that he was a clergyman, but the body of the document makes no reference to this status and groups him with the Aurelii. The clergy was involved in village administration, but there is no evidence that they held one of the usual offices at this level; see G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsmänner im spätantiken Ägypten* (2002) 309–16.

Pamuthius also subscribes 5377. He may be identified with Παμουθίου μεζ(ονος) [υ]σ[ι]σ[ι]ου, ζω[ι]σ[ι]ου in VI 893 = M. Chr. 99.1; the online image does not confirm a reading of his father's name as Ἡ|κοεί|ου| but does not disprove it either. The hand is compatible with a date in the second half of the sixth century (vi/vii ed. pr.). VIII 1147 9 (late vi) Παμουθίω μελλ(ονι) Ταμπετι may refer to the same person. Another possible attestation comes from XIX 2244 81–5, which refers to axles supplied to Pamuthius, μεζων of Tampeti, on Mecheir 16 and 17, indiction 6 = 9–10 August 558 (the latest possible date for this document is 558; see ZPE 150 (2004) 201).

Ἡ|κοεί|ου|: spelled Ἡ|κοεί|ου| in Pamuthius' subscription in 18; cf. also 5377 10. This variation in the spelling is attested elsewhere. Cf. also LXX 4798 5 Πατωείου and n.

οἰκονόμος τοῦ τόπου τῆς ἀγίας ἀμα Βῆς. Cf. 19, 22–3. Another ecclesiastical οἰκονόμος is the guarantor in XXVII 2478. The term τόπος no doubt refers to a monastery. Ama Bes is known from a Coptic inscription: see T. E. Peet, W. L. S. Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos iii* (1913) 39 (B. 2.11).

5 Ταμπετι. Cf. 5377 12. See LXX 4785 11 n.; RSON² 366–8.

5–6 παρχουμένης | [καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνδόξου] οἰ[κ]οῦ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας. Cf. 4785 11–12 (530) παρχουμένης | καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυείας, said for the same village; for the restored phrase, cf. e.g. I 136 = W. Chr. 383.29–30 (583) τῷ ἐνδόξῳ οἴκῳ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας. See also 5377 1 n., and for the verb, 5371 5 n.

8–10 The persons under surety are eight in total. Among texts of this period, only the Arsinoite CPR X 127 (584) has a larger number, viz. twelve or more.

10 [. . .]ειον; e.g. [Ἡ|κοεί|ον], as in 4.

11 διαγειν καὶ παραμείναι. The infinitives normally appear in reverse order in other sureties.

13 τοῦ| κωμητῆ| [τύχη]ν|. Cf. 5395 13. The κωμητική τύχη (*vicanca condicio*) is mentioned in Justinian's *Novella* 38.6, issued in 526, but not much is known about what it entailed.

14 There is no parallel to the clauses contained in this line. (The transcript incorporates suggestions by S. Kovarik and WBH.)

[ἐτέ]ρας [α]ι[τ]ι[α]ς. Cf. XIX 2238 15 ταύτης ἔνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας.

15 ἐν τῇ [φυ]λακῇ τοῦ| αὐ| τοῦ ἐνδό[ξ]ου οἴκου. See 5377 5–6 n.

There is no room to restore καὶ λόγου at the end of the line; cf. 5384 27, VI 996 = SB XVI 12484.17 (both 584), P. Pintaudi 19.24 (Oxy.; vi/vii), PSI I 61.29 (Oxy.; 609).

17 ἀποταττό[μ]ενοι τῷ π[ρ]ω[τ]ο[μ]ίω τῶ[ν] ἑγγυητῶ[ν]. See 5395 6–7 nn.

18 ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) [ῶμ]ολλ(ογησαμεν), written as ἐπερ[ῶμ]ολλ. The duplications indicate the plural; it is remarkable that they are rarely found with these words. The closest parallel I have found is BGU I 308 = M. Chr. 278.14 (Ars.; vi/vi [revised dating, based on the hand]); ἐπερ[ῶμ]ολλ seems a possible reading on the online image, and for ῶμολλ see BL VIII 22. ἐπερ[ῶμ]ολλ recurs in 5373 19; cf. also P. Princ. III

145.10 (Oxy. [provenance after A. Ghezzi]; v1), SB XXIV 16288.19 (Ars.; 600), SB XIV 12194.24 (Ars.; mid v11 [date after S. Kovarik]).

ἐλάχι(ι)στος [μει]ζ(ω)ν). ἐλάχιστος is nowhere else followed by a secular office. Pamuthius may have written πρβ = πρ(ε)βύτερος before μεις, though the space would be tight. [δι]κ(ονος) is less likely. ζ[τοιχ(ε)]ι was perhaps followed by ἡ παρ(ο)ῖσα ἐγγύη ὡς πρόκ(ε)ιται), as in the other two subscriptions, but in 5377 10–11 Pamuthius writes ετηχ(ε)ῖ πά[ν]τα τὰ π[ρο]γεγραμμέν[α].

19 οἰκοθ[ῆ]μος α]μα Βης. τῆς ἀγίας does not fit in the space.

21 On the notary, see 5379 8–9 n.

N. GONIS

5379. DEED OF SURETY

53 1B.26(G)/E(8)a

29.6 x 15.1 cm

570s?

Plate XX

Only the concluding part of the surety survives; it refers to a plurality of persons guaranteed by a 'collective body' of people. The notary, Ioannes, also signed 5378; his signature there has been deciphered thanks to the present document, where it is fully preserved. Ioannes also wrote on behalf of the illiterate guarantors, and he may be the amanuensis of this name known from other documents; see further 8–9 n.

The text is written along the fibres and the back is blank.

ἐπιζητουμένους] αὐτοῦ[ς πρὸς ἡμᾶς παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφ(υ)είας) ἐν οἰκ(α)δ(ε)ῖ
 ἡμέρᾳ, οἰκ(α)δ(ε)ῖ ποτουῦν ἔνεκεν
 προφά[ς]εως, τοῦ[τους παραφέρομεν και παραδώσομεν δημοσίᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς
 πόλεως ἕκτος
 ἀγίων περ]ιβόλων [και θείων χαρακτήρων ἔνθα αὐτοὺς και παρειλήφαμεν, ἐν τῇ
 φυλακῇ τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ ἐ]γδοξου [οἰκου. ἢ εἰ μ]ῆ τ[οῦτο ποιήσομεν ὁμ]ολοχ[οῦμ]εν ὑπ[ε]ρ[θ]υνοιο
 εἶναι πᾶσι [τοῖς πρὸς
 5 αὐτοῦ]ς ἐπιζη[τουμ]ε[ν]οις ἀπο[κρ]ί[ν]ασθαι. κ[υ]ρ[ι]σ[τ]α ἡ ἐγγ[ύ]η [ἀ]π[λ]ῆ(ῆ)
 γραφ(εῖσα) και ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὠμολ(ογή)σαμεν).
 (m.2) τὸ κοι[ν]ὸν τῶν προγεγραμμένων ὀνομάτων πεποιήμεθα ταύτην τῇ
 ἐγγύη]ν ἀναδεχόμε(νοι) τοὺς προγεγραμμέ(νους) Ἀπαῶρον και Τουαν κατὰ τὴν
 ἐγκειμ[ε]ν[ε] (νην)
 αὐτῇ δὲ]γναμιν ὡς πρόκ(ε)ιται). Ἰωάννης ἔγραψα (ὑπέρ) αὐτῶν ἀγραμμ(άτων)
 ὄντ(ων). †

✠ di emu Ioahnnu sumb(olaiographu) etel(iothe)✠

5 α]πληροφ. επερωμοθ
αγραμμουντς

7 αναδεχομς, προγεγραμμς, εγκειμς^{h]}

8 προβιασσης, γ.

'... if they are required of us by your extraordinariness on any day, for any reason whatsoever, we shall produce and deliver them in a public place in this city, without recourse to holy precincts and imperial portraits, where we have also received them, in the prison of the said glorious house. Or if we fail to do this, we acknowledge ourselves accountable to answer for all that is required of them. The surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question we assented.' (2nd hand) 'We, the collective body of the aforewritten persons, have made this surety pledging for the aforewritten Aphorus and Tuan in accordance with the power contained in it as aforesaid. I, Ioannes, wrote for them because they are illiterate.'

'Completed through me, Ioannes, contract writer.'

1-3 For the restorations, some of them tentative (the whole of *ἐπιζητουμένους* would not have fitted in 1; *δημοσίᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως* in 2 is only thinly paralleled), cf. 5373 14-16.

8-9 The amanuensis and the notary are one and the same: name and hand match. Several notaries called Ioannes were active in Oxyrhynchus in the second half of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh: seven are listed in *Byz. Not.* pp. 81-2 (see further LXVI 4536 37 n., LXX 4800 20 n., and LXXXI 5288 30 n.). None of their signatures can be immediately recognized as the same as those in 5378 and 5379, which contain some idiosyncratic features: Ioannes writes *Ioannn*, for *Iohann*; the *u* of *emu* is suprascript and has its right arm exaggeratedly extended upwards; *sumb(oloiographu)* is added; and *etel(iothe)* is distinctively abbreviated. Only the signature in PSI VI 709.32 (566 = *Byz. Not. Oxy.* 9.4.1 comes close, though it is largely damaged and shorter in length than those in 5378 and 5379. However, the hand of the amanuensis in PSI 709.27-31, who is also called Ioannes, is very similar to that found in 5379. Also very similar, if not the same, is the hand of the amanuensis Ioannes in XVI 1896 24-5 (577), who introduces the subscription with the same phrase as that used in 5379 6; but the notarial signature is too damaged to allow an identification. I am more ambivalent about the amanuensis in LXII 4351 17-18 (ind. 8 = 559/60, 574/5, etc.), who identifies himself as *Ἰω[άννη]ς Καρ[]* (18), and uses a similar formula to that in 5379 6. (But only C[can be read on the papyrus at present; an *Ἰωάννης υἱὸς Καπατάμμωνος* signs for an illiterate in PSI I 77.36, probably of 551, and the signature of the notary Ioannes is unparallelled.)

N. GONIS

5380. LEASE OF LAND

64 6B.60/B(1)a

fr. 1 29.9 × 23.2 cm

5 November 578

A lease of an irrigating machine (*μηχανή*) with a cistern, well, and other irrigating implements, as well as a number of aruras associated with it; cf. 5370, 5383. The rent is payable in wheat, and there are provisions for extra payments. The lease's duration is not specified and was presumably indefinite. No reference to a rent-roll (*ἀπαρτήσιμον*) survives. The two lessees originate from an Apionic hamlet, and their guarantor is an *adscripticius* from the same locality; it may be due to inadvertence that they are not themselves called *adscripticii*. The text is faulty throughout: it is written as if there were only one lessee (cf. 5384), and there are many spelling errors and some garbled Greek. This complicates reading and reconstruction, and the text is not always recoverable (I am indebted to Ben Henry for a number of joins and readings).

5380 offers the earliest reference to Apion II as dead. He was last heard of as alive on 25 March 578 (LXX 4791), and his heirs first appear on 19 January 579 (LXX 4792). The unusual address, with Apion described as 'of glorious memory' (see below, 4 n.), is in line with the erratic character of the text, but may also indicate that Apion's death was very recent and there was uncertainty over who was in charge of the estate.

A further point of interest comes from the regnal date clause, which offers the latest reference to Iustinus II as alive, one month after his death (†5.x.578). The earliest Egyptian record of the sole rule of Tiberius II is furnished by 4792, mentioned above.

The text is written along the fibres. An informal account was written on the back.

Fr. 1

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου
 εὐεργέτου Φλα(αοῦ)υῦ) Ἰουστινίου τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγουστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα ἔταξε ἐγὼ, ὑπάτερι ἀγαθῶν αὐτῶν
 γαληνότητος τὸ β, καὶ Φλα(αοῦ)υῦ) Τιβερίου
 τοῦ καὶ Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐχεστὰ τοῦ ἡμῶν) Καίσαρα, (vac.) Ἄθου
 θ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) β.
 Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι) τοῦ τῆ) εἰς δὲ) μνημης, γενομένου ἐνταῦθα τῆ
 Νέω Ἰουστινίου πόλει, διὰ
 5 Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτηθέντος καὶ προσηγορευτοῦ τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ
 αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ
 τὴν ἀγωγὴν) καὶ ἐνοχλήν, Αὐρηλίῳ C[.] . . . μὴν υἱὸς Ἀπολλῶ καὶ Φυλῆας
 υἱὸς Εἰρατω[
 c.6] ος ἀπὸ ἐπικλήσεως) Περωνίου τῆ) Νέω) Ἰουστινίου πόλει, μετ' ἐγγετοῦ
 το ἀναδεχομένου) [
 αὐτῶς εἰς ἄπασι ἐξηλουμένης ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Τουαν φορ() υἱὸς Φιλοξένου ἀπὸ
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπικλήσεως) κτήματος
 τῆς ἡμῶν ὑπερφυείας ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς) γενομένης χαίρειν. ἐκούσας
 ἐπιδέχουμαι μεθ' ἡσασθαι
 10 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος (ἔτους) τῆς παρούσης δωδεκάτη) ἰνδ(ικτίωνος),
 κατασπορᾶς δὲ καὶ συνλογῆς κερπῶν τῆς
 εἰς Θεῷ τρικεκατῆς ἐπισημείωσας, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῆ) ἡμῶν ὑπερφυείας
 διακειμένων
 ἐν) [πεδὶ) οἰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήματος ἐξ ἀπληρώτου τοῦ) . . . εἰς) . . .
 μηχανῆν καλουμένην) Ἀπ] c.8
 ἐξηρησμένην) πάσῃ ξυλικῇ) ἐξαρτί) καὶ) [εἰδηρῶ) μασι, μετ) καὶ) τοῦ
 ἐπικειμένου) ὀλοκλήρου λάκκου καὶ

ύδρ]εύματος καὶ κυκλευτηρίου [κ]αὶ μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων καὶ φυτῶν παντοίων
καὶ παντὸς ἑτέρου δικαίου

15 τ]αύτης μετὰ καὶ τῶν συγγεωργ[γ]ουμένων καὶ υποστελλουσ[ω]ν τῇ αὐτῇ μηχανῇ
ἀρουρῶν c.9
..]ν κ[α]ἰ [τελέως τῇ] ὑμῶν ὑπερφυε[ῖ]α ὑπ[ε]ρ φόρου ἀποτάκ[ε]του τούτων καθ'
ἕκαστον ἑνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τε

νεילוβρ[ό]χῃ [κα]ἰ [ἀ]βρόχῃ σίτ[ου ἀ]πὸ κα[λο]ῦ γενήματος κε[κοκκινευμένου]
ἀρτάβας c.15
.. εἰμων καὶ παραλη ρυτ [..] ν λε[.] .. κ. [

[.....]. [..] c. ιδ .. ιδ .. με .. και [

20 [.....] .. [

Fr. 2

...]ικου, ε, π, [..] [

τὰ ἑορτικά καὶ πάντα τὰ [ἀκίνδυνος ὁ φόρος

ἀ]πὸ παντὸς κινδύου τῶν [τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν ὑπερφύειαν

..]ο, ν τόν .. [

]. [

Fr. 3

ἰ]δικῶς καὶ γενικῶς [ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑπαθήκης δικαίῳ, κυρία ἡ

μίσθωσις ἀπλῆ γραφεῖσα

κα]ἰ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμ[ολόγησα.

[..], πεποιμαι τὴν [μίσθωσις

(vac.)

] δ[ε] ἔμο[υ]

Fr. 1

2 l. Ἀυτοκράτορος 3 l. εὐτυχεστάτου, Καίσαρος ινδκ 4 l. τῷ νεα: ν corr. from λ

5 l. ἐπερωτῶντος 6 l. Φιλίας Ερατω: era corr. from arpe 7 ποιμν l. τῆς Νέας ...

πάλευς, ἔγγυθου τοῦ ἀναδεχομένου 8 l. αὐτοῦς, ἀπόδοσις τῆς ἐξῆς δηλουμένης, Αἰρηλίου, υἱοῦ

φορ τοῦ: ο corr. from η 9 ἑναπόγραφος ... [γ]εωργός: see comm. l. ἐπιδέχομαι ιο ινδκ

l. κυλλογῆς 11 l. τρεῖςκαθεκῆτης ἐπιμεμήσεως

Fr. 3

1 l. εἰδικῶς 3 l. πεποίημαι

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Iustinus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 13, in the consulship of his serenity for the 2nd time, and of Flavius Tiberius alias Novus Constantinus, our most fortunate Caesar, Hathyr 9, indiction 12.

'To Flavius Apion of glorious memory; landowner also here in the New City of Iustinus, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), Aurelii S— ... son of Apollos and Phileas son of Eras(?) ... from the hamlet of Petroniou of the New City of Iustinus, with, as guarantor who undertakes the responsibility for them in respect of the return of the () mentioned below, me, Aurelius Touan, ..., son of Philoxenus, from the same hamlet, a holding of your extraordinariness, a registered farmer of yours, greeting. Voluntarily I undertake to lease from the current year 255/224 of the present twelfth indiction, for the sowing and collection of the crops of the God willing thirteenth epinemesis, from the possessions of your extraordinariness that lie in the fields of the said holding to the east of ... an irrigator called "Ap—", fitted with all the wooden equipment and iron fittings, along with the whole cistern situated in it and the well and wheel and the machinery of the irrigator and the plants of all kinds and every other right of it along with the ... aruras farmed with and dependent upon the same irrigator, and I shall pay to your extraordinariness in respect of fixed rent on them every year, for Nile-watered as well as unwatered land, ... arabas of wheat from good produce, sieved ...' (Fr. 2) '... the festive payments and all the ... The rent is free of all risk, with the public charges on the land being the responsibility of your extraordinariness ...' (Fr. 3) '... in particular and in general, by way of pledge and by right of mortgage. The lease, written in a single copy, is binding, and in answer to the formal question I assented. ... I, ... have made the lease ... Through me, ...'

2 ζτ[ο]υ[ε] ιγ. The regnal year figure is restored on the basis of the Oxyrhynchite era year and indiction mentioned in 10.

ἰπατε[ρ]ῆ[ς] [τ]ῆ[ς] ἀπ[ι]ων γαλη[νό]θητος τὸ β. See LXX 4789 3 n.

2-3 For the restored names of Tiberius II, see 4789 4 n.

3 Κα[τ]ῆ[ξ]αθα, l. Καίσαρος. A blank space follows, probably left so intentionally rather than the result of abrasion. The regnal year of Tiberius II was apparently not written, as was standard practice in Oxyrhynchus in 576-7. His regnal year is first recorded on 10 May 578 (VII 1042), and perhaps already on 11 January (LXX 4790; the reading is uncertain), but on 1 February the yearless clause is attested in LXXI 4836. It should be noted that the scribes of 4836 and 5380 are prone to error.

4 The length of the lacuna, the references to a single landowner in 4-6, and the manner in which Apion II was styled in earlier documents indicate that Apion himself was addressed and not his heirs (contrast LXX 4792, from two months later). It is less likely that the text was addressed τῷ οἴκῳ Ἀπ[ι]ωνος, as in posthumous references to Apion III.

The phrase τοῦ τῆ[ς] ἑ[π]ὶ β[α]σιλέ[ω]ς μνήμη implies a lower status than Apion's, but cf. XVI 1829 3, 12-13, where the same phrase is generally thought to apply to Apion II, and LXIII 4397 58 (545), for the late Strategius II, though other epithets are used as well.

Νέε, with nu corrected from lambda. Presumably the scribe first thought of λαμπρῶ, the standard epithet of Oxyrhynchus except for the time when it was called Νέα Γουκετίου πόλις (cf. 5378 introd.), of which this document offers the latest instance.

6 Ερατω[ι]. Perhaps Ερατω[ι]ς, for Ἐρᾶτος, a name not common in this period, or Ἡρᾶτος.

7 c.6] .oc. Perhaps ὀρμώμε[τ]ρος, for ὀρμώμενοι.

ἐπου(ίου) Πετρουίου. This hamlet is attested only in Apionic documents; see RSON² 280-81.

τῆ Ν[ε]ῆ Γουκετίου πόλις (l. τῆς Νέας ... πόλεως). We expect τοῦ Γουκετιοπολίτου νομοῦ at this point; cf. e.g. 5378 6.

μετ' ἐγγεταῦ (l. ἐγγητοῦ). On guarantors in leases of this period, see P. Paramone 18.6-7 n. Cf. 5383 9ff.

8 ἡὐτως for αὐτοῦς is what we expect at this point. The letter after omega is not nu.

εἰς ἀπωσιν ἐξηλουμένης, l. ἀπ(ό)σιν (τῆς) ἐξῆς (δη)λουμένης, sc. μηχανῆς. Cf. 5383 10-11.

φορ(). Obscure, unless φορ() = φορ(ι)τικ(οῦ) was meant. φροντισταὶ act as guarantors in 5383. τοῦ, with omicron corrected from eta. τῆς (αὐτῆς πόλεως) must have been the scribe's initial idea. ἐπ[οικίου κτήματος. It is unclear whether there is enough space for κτήματος.

9 ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς [γ]εωργός appears to refer to the guarantor. Nothing is said about the status of the lessees, but since they all originate from the same hamlet, described as an Apionic holding, it is likely that everyone was an ἐναπόγραφος. For a similar problem see 5383 14 n. ἐναπόγραφοι, who naturally originate from *epoikia*, lease land from aristocratic landowners in LXXII 5331 (474), 5332 (480), and LXVII 4615 (505); contrast P. Flor. III 325 (489), where the lessees come from a κτήμα but nothing is said about their status. In receipts for replacement parts of irrigators, those who state that they have irrigators under their charge and come from *epoikia* are generally ἐναπόγραφοι, though there are a very few exceptions; see Hickey, *Wine* 82 n. 119.

12-15 On these clauses, cf. P. Berl. Zill. 7.14-17 (574); sim. 5383 18-20.

12 Απ[. E.g. Απ[ῆλιωτικῆ; see 5383 18 n.

Fr. 2

2 τὰ ἔορτικά καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀναλώματα? Cf. P. Berl. Zill. 7.24-5 καὶ τὰ ἔορτικά καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τοῦ καιροῦ τῶν φέρων.

Fr. 3

4 The notary's signature was certainly in Greek.

N. GONIS

5381. ANNUAL ACCOUNT OF AN ESTATE OVERSEER

53 1B.26(D)/C(1)b + (5)b + (6)a

fr. 1+2 21.6 × 19.9 cm

5B1

Plate XVI (fr. 1+2)

Several fragments from the top of an account of income and expenditure submitted by a *pronoetes* to Praiecta, Apion, and Georgius; cf. 5391-2. All the fragments belong to the section that concerns receipts, in wheat and money. Fr. 1-2 come from the first column; fr. 3-6 are parts of different columns, but their relative position and the extent of the gaps between them cannot be determined. A number of fragments with scant remains of text are not included in this edition (two additional scraps at 53 1B.26(D)/F(9)a).

The account offers an unexpected glimpse into the issue of the succession of Apion II and the administration of his estate. It dates from a time when legal agreements are addressed to the heirs of Apion II without naming them; these heirs, later termed 'successors', remain on record as late as 21 October 588 (5390). Praiecta, Apion, and Georgius were already attested in XVIII 2196, an account of a *pronoetes* for 586/7 written in late 587 or early 588 (see below, 1-2 n.); this was commonly taken to signal a new phase, especially since Praiecta and Apion appear in legal agreements in late 589 and early 590. It would now appear that the unnamed

heirs were Præiecta, Apion, and Georgius. The area under the *pronoetes* responsible for 5381 is also attested in I 136 of 583, a work contract for a *pronoetes* who addresses Apion II's unnamed heirs in the prescript. The same area and *pronoetes* recur in 2196. It is also significant that the accounts 5381 and 5391 were found with the documents addressed to these heirs and successors; they all derive from the central office of the estate. This need not imply that Præiecta and her sons inherited the entire estate of Apion II, for which there are indications of division (cf. Hickey, *Wine* 97); but we may be confident that they were in control of the central estate office at Oxyrhynchus, and probably of the majority of the Apionic holdings in the region.

A further point of interest is that Apion and Georgius are styled *ἐνδοξότατοι*; contrast 2196 and 5391, where they are both called *ὑπατοι*, while thanks to 5386 we know that Apion was a *ὑπατος* by late 585. Præiecta's consular rank reflected her husband's; we now see that the children of consuls were not *consulares* by descent or were not elevated to the status of their parents as soon as that increased; only the emperor would have conferred the dignity of honorary consul.

The text is written along the fibres. All the fragments are blank on the back.

FR. 1+2

† Φ] λ(αου)οις Πραιϊέκτη τῇ ὑπερφ[υστ(άτη)] ὑπ[α]τ[ίς(ῆ)] κ[αί] Ἀπίωνι καὶ
 Γεωργίῳ
 τοῖς ἐνδοξ(οτάτοις) γεομ[χο(ῦ)σι] καὶ ἐνταῦθ]α τῇ λαμπρῇ
 Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλε[ι. λόγ(ο)ς] λημ[μ(άτων)] καὶ ἀναλωμ[μ(άτων)]
 γενομ[μ(ένων)] δι' ἐμοῦ [. . . προ(νοητοῦ) Ματρει] καὶ ἐν κώμ(ῃ)
 5 Ἐπις[τήμου] καὶ ἐν κώμ(ῃ) Ἀδαίου καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ[(ῶν)] τόπων
 ἐπὶ [τῆς ἰδ' ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), (ἐτους) συ]ζ κς. λήμμ[α(τα)] οὐ(τως)
 π(αρά) Παπνουθ[ίου] c.10] κ[αί] ἀπὸ νο(μισματίων) ἰδ' γ" κ[
 (ῶν) δ(ο)θ(έντα)] [c.10] γηκο[. . .] λ[
 π(αρά) Π[] c.18 Πα]λεούτο[ς]
 10 π(αρά) Παπνουθ[ίου] c.10] θεως []
 π(αρά) τοῦ κοι[νοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν κτή]μ(ατος) Λικουούτος δ[ι(ὰ)]
 π(αρά) Παλεούτ[ος] c.15] ἰδε δ(ιὰ) Ἀμαε[ίου]
 π(αρά) Παπνουθίου c.10 (ὑπέρ) ἀ]ποτάκ(ου) χωρ(ίων) []
 . [] . 5 λ. []

FR. 3

] Ἐπιστήμου οὐ(τως)
 ἀπὸ] τῆς αὐ(τῆς) κώμ(ης) Ἐπιστή[μου]
] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ(τῆς) κ[ώμ(ης)]

] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ(τῆς) κ(ώμ)ης)
 5 ἔργο|διώκτου []
] εὐῶτος ἀ[πὸ
 πρεσβυ|τέρ(ου) καὶ κο[ινωνῶν(?)
 πρεσ|βυτέρ(ου) ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ(τῆς) κώμ(ης)
 -ω]ν γεωργ(ῶν) δι(ὰ) Φοιβάμ[μωνος
 10 (ὑπέρ) ἀ|ποτάκτ(ου) χωρ(ίω)ν []
] ε. . . [. . .] αρεου, []

Fr. 4

ἀπὸ] τῆς αὐ(τῆς) κώμ(ης) Ἰδαίου
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ(τῆς) κώμ(ης) Ἰδαίου δι(ὰ) Απο[]
] Μαρτυ []
 Φοιβ[άμμωνος καὶ κο[ινωνῶν
 5] αμ() γε[]
], νου ἀπ[ὸ
] Φοιβάμμω[ν] []
] εὔτος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) κτ[ήμ(ατος)
 ἀπὸ] τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) κτήμ(ατος)
 10 Ἡ]λίαις [ἀπὸ] τ[οῦ] αὐ(τοῦ) κτῆ[μ(ατος)

Fr. 5

]
]
]
] εἰτου (ἀρτάβαι) ροα \ []
 5] εἰτου [(ἀρτάβαι)] []
] εἰτου [(ἀρτάβαι)] []
], εἰτου (ἀρτάβαι) β \ d/ [] []
] εἰτου (ἀρτάβαι) λδ \ [] []
] εἰτ[ου] (ἀρτάβαι) ια [] []
 10 εἰτου (ἀρτάβαι)], d/ [] []

Fr. 6

π(αρά) Πέτρου καὶ κ[οινωνῶν
 π(αρά) Απολλ[ω-
]
 π(αρά) Κω[]
]
]
]
]
] νο(μ.) ε [] []
] νο(μ.) [] []

Fr. 1+2

1 φ|ἀπραιϊεκτη 2 ενδοξῆς, λαμπρῶ 3 οξυρυνχῆς, λημ]μς, αναλωμς 4 γεννηδῆς,
 κωμς 5 αλ]λ' 7ff. π' 7 ἦ 8 λ, δ^θ 11]μς 12 δ 13 α]ποτακτ]χωρβ

Fr. 3

1 οο— 2-4 αὐ 2 κωμς 7 πρεβυ]τερ 8 πρεβ]υτερ 9 γεωργηδῶ
 το α]ποτακτ]χωρβ

Fr. 4

1-2 αὐκωμς 2 δ 5]μς 8-10 αὐκτωμς

Fr. 5

1 Α 4-10 —

Fr. 6

Col. i

9-10 ἦ

Col. ii

1-2, 4 π'

Fr. 1+2

'To Flavii Praciecta, the most extraordinary consules, and Apion and Georgius, the most glorious, landowners also here in the splendid city of the Oxryhynchites. Account of receipts and expenditures made through me, ... overseer of Matreu and (of those) in the village of Episemou and in the village of Adaiou and of other outside places in the 14th indiction, year 257/226. Receipts as follows:

'From Pappnuthius ... and from 14½ sol. ... of which (there were) given ...

'From P— ... Paleus ...

'From Pappnuthius ...

'From the community of the farmers of the holding of Licys through ...

'From Paleus ... through Amaëius ...

'From Pappnuthius ... for fixed rent on vineyards ...'

Fr. 3

'...Episemou, as follows: / ... from the same village of Episemou ... / ... from the same village ... / ... from the same village ... / ... foreman ... / ... —eus from ... / ... presbyter and associates ... / ... presbyter from the same village ... / ... farmers through Phoibammon ... / ... for fixed rent on vineyards ...'

Fr. 4

'... from the same village of Adaiou ... / ... from the same village of Adaiou through Apo— ... / ... Matreu / ... Phoibammon and associates ... / ... from ... / ... Phoibammon ... / ... from the same holding ... / ... from the same holding ... / ... Elias from the same holding ...'

Fr. 5

Artabas of wheat: 17½ (l. 4); 2½ ¼ (l. 7); 34½ (l. 8); 11(+2) (l. 9); ... ¼ (l. 10).

Fr. 6

'... 5(+2) sol. / ... sol. / ... (col. ii) From Petrus and associates ... / From Apollo— ... / ... / From Co— ...'

Fr. 1+2

1-2 The address parallels XVIII 2196 1-2 (587) and 5391 1-2; cf. also XIX 2243a 86 (591/2). The two previously published items call for comment.

2196, which reads like a summary account of a *pronoetes* (F. Morelli, *Pap. Congr. XX* (1994) 488 n. 3), is addressed to Pracicta, Apion, and Georgius, refers to indiction 586/7, and was probably written shortly thereafter (Hickey, *Wine* 16 n. 103), but still within the period when Apion II's nameless heirs or 'successors' are mentioned. Though it was written as a scribal exercise (Hickey, *ibid.*, and 128 with n. 154), there is no need to assume that it refers to later circumstances.

2243a 86ff. is also a scribal exercise written on the back of a headless *pronoetes* account (the heading must have been contained in a separate roll, as col. i is the first of a roll). The address runs Φλ. Πραϊκέτη τῇ ὑπερφουετ(άτῃ) ὑπατίσε(ῃ) (ὑπατίσε(ς) παρ.; ὑπατίσε(ς) ed. pt.) καὶ Ἀπίων (καὶ) τῷ πανευφ(ήμῳ) (πανευφ(ήμ) παρ.) ὑπάτω. ε[π]ι[]τ[]ῆ[ε] ε[]νάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) was read in 88, but no trace of ε[]νάτης is now visible. Comparison with the account on the other side, which refers to indiction 9 = 590/91 (but will have been written in late 591 or early 592; cf. below, 6 n.), makes ε[]νάτης plausible. The otiose καὶ and the plural implied by πανευφ(ήμ) may suggest that the model was a phrase that included Georgius, from the heading of an earlier account. If not, and ε[]νάτης was a defensible reading at the time of the papyrus' publication, this would be the latest reference to Pracicta and Apion together in Oxyrhynchus; cf. 5394 introd.

4-5 Restored after 2196 4-6 προ(νοητοῦ) Ματρου καὶ ἐν κώμη(ῃ) Ἐπισήμου καὶ ἐν κώμη(ῃ) Ἀδαίου καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ών) | τόπων; cf. also I 136 15-16 (583) πρακταία κτήματος Ματρου | καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμη(ῃ) Ἐπισήμου καὶ Ἀδαίου καὶ τῶν ἐξωτικ(ών) αὐτῶν τόπων. A *pronoetes* of Adaiou is attested in XVI 1916 30 (c. 547), and a *pronoetes* of Epise mou in LV 3805 86 (after 566).

6 ἐπι[]τῆς ἰδ(ικτίωνος), (ἔτους) ε[]ζ[] κ[]ς. Year 257/226 = indiction 14 = 580/81. The Oxyrhynchite era year is also given in 5391 5 (588) and VI 999 4 (617). When present, it is equated with the indiction, which implies that accounting time was not determined by the fiscal indiction, which started in Pachon. The accounts will have been drawn up after the end of the indiction, and occasionally contain entries dated to the next indiction cycle, e.g. XVIII 2195 156-7. Thus all accounts from this period may be assigned to the indiction immediately following the one mentioned in their heading.

11 τοῦ κοι[]οῦ τῶν γεωργῶν κτή(ατος) Λικουότος. Cf. e.g. 2195 11 τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν κτή(ατος) Τύλλωνος. On these κοιναὶ see Hickey, *Wine* 65-7, and his discussion in the forthcoming P. Christodote; cf. also Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft* 22-3.

The κτήμα Λικουότος must be the same as the ἐποίκιον Λικηούτος, known from LXIII 4398 14, 33 (553), described as κτήματος κ[]α[]ι τῆς ὑμῶν | παιδείσεως (15-16) in a document addressed to F. Dioscorus, *advocatus fori* of the PPO. Was Λικουότος included among the ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι?

13 ἀποτάκ(ου) χωρ(ίων). Cf. fr. 3.10; 5391 14. Hickey, *Wine* 53-8, offers a detailed discussion of this charge and argues that it was a fixed rent on vineyards in imperial properties administered by the Apions. It is likely that Παπυ[]ουθίου was followed by καὶ κοινοῦν (abbreviated): 'apostakon ebrishn was invariably charged to collectives' (Hickey, *Wine* 65). All three localities mentioned in the heading are attested as viticultural sites; see Hickey, *Wine* 166, 168, 173.

Fr. 3

5 ἐργο[]διώκτου. See LVII 3914 5 n.; cf. T. M. Hickey, *APF* 58 (2012) 303 n. 10.

5382. DEED OF SURETY

54 1B.25(B)/C(4)a

23.5 x 33 cm

582

Plate IV (ll. 22-4)

The surety is addressed to the heirs of Apion II by the provost of a monastery who pledges for two brothers, probably imprisoned because of unpaid rents. The guarantor promises that they will remain in their place and pay the rents they owe; otherwise he himself will have to pay up.

The text is written along the fibres. There is a sheet join c.8.5 cm from the left edge.

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβες[τάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστος εὐεργέτου
 Φλαοῦλου Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου καὶ Αὐτο-
 κράτορος] ἔτους η, ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 εὐσεβ[εστάτου] ἡμῶν δεσπότης] ἔτους τετ[άρτου μηνὴ η ἰνδ[ικτιωνος] η
 τοῖς ὑπερφυστάτοις κληρονόμοις τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μηνῆς Ἀπίωνος γενομένου
 5 πρωτοπατρικίου, γεου[χο]ῦ[ς] καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει,
 διὰ Μηνᾶ
 οἰκέτου, τοῦ ἐπερ[ωτῶν]τος καὶ προσ[πορίζ]οντος τοῖς ἰδίοις δεσπ[όται]ς τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς πανευφ[ήμοις]
 ἀνδράσιν τὴν ἀγ[ωγῆ]ν καὶ ἐνοχλήν, [Π]έτρος μου[ά]ζων καὶ ἀ[ρχ]ιμανδρί[της
 μοναστηρίου Πα[μου]θίου υἱὸς τοῦ μ[ακα]ρίου Ἰωάννου] ἑξῆς ὑπο[γρ]άφω
 10 Ἰδ[ί]α χειρὶ
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[εως]. ὁμολογῶ [έ]κο[υ]ν εἶναι γινώ[μη] καὶ αὐθ[αι]ρέτῃ
 π[ροαι]ρέσει
 15 ἐπωμύμενος τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάμιον ὄρκον ἐγγ[υ]ᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ
 τῇ
 ὑμετέρα ὑπερφυσία Ἀυρηλίου Ἐρμῖνον καὶ Κοροῦν ὁμογενεῖος ἀδελφοῦ
 ἐκ πατρὸς (vac.) ὁρμωμένους ἀπὸ κτήματος Μεγάλης Ταρουθίνου τοῦ
 Ὀξυρυγγίτου νομοῦ, διαφέροντος τῇ ἡμῶν ὑπερφυσίᾳ, ἐναπογράφου
 γεωργούς,
 ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐτοὺς ἀδιαλείπτως παραμεῖναι καὶ διάγειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κτήματι
 15 καὶ πληροῦντας τὰ χρεωστούμενα παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκφόρια τὴν ἡμῶν
 ὑπερφυσίαν ἧχ[ο]ν ἐμὲ οἰκοθεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίδουσι καὶ ἀποπληρῶσαι
 τὴν ἡμῶν ὑπερφυσίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ἐπιζητουμένους δὲ αὐτοὺς
 πρὸς ἐμὲ παραφέρω καὶ παραδώσω δίχα προσφυγῆς τινος ἐνθα
 αὐτοὺς καὶ παρείληφα, ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ἡμῶν οἴκου.

- 20 εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω, ὁμολογῶ ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι πᾶσιν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιζητούμενοις ἀποκρίνασθαι. κυρ(ία) ἢ ἐγγύη ἀπλῆ γραφ(είσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα).^π₃
 (m.2) † Πέτρος μονάζ(ων) υἱὸς Ἰωάννου στοιχεῖ μοι αὐτῆ [ἢ ἐ]γγύη ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).
 (m.3) ✠ di emu Parnustiu elteliothe

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

- 25 † ἐγγύη] γεναμ(ένη) π(αρά) Πέτρου μονάζ(οντος) υἱοῦ Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυχ(ιτών) ἀναδεχομ(ένου) Ἑρμίνου κα]! (ου)ροῦν ἀπ[ὸ] Μεγάλ(ης) Ταρ[ουθ(ίνου)

8 ἰσος, ἰωαν[νου], ὑπο[γρ]αφωιδ[ια] 10 l. ἐπομνύμενος ἐγγ[υ]α]σθαι 11 ὑπεραιπερφύσεια
 13 οξυρυχ[ς], ὑμων[υπερφύσεια] 15-16, 17 ὑμων[υπερφύσεια] 16, 17 ὑπερ 19 ὑμων
 20 ὑπεύθυνος 21 κυρ, ἐγγύη, γραφ, ἐπερωμ[ο]β 22 μοναζ, 23 προμ 25 γεναμ[ε]τα, μοι[α]δ[ύ]οισι[ω]ισαννου, οξυρυχ[ς]αναδεχομ[ς] 26 μεγαβ

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Constantinus, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 8, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year fourth, month, day, indiction n.

'To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion of well-famed memory, the former first *patricius*, land-owners also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), Petrus, monk and archimandrite of the monastery of Pamuthius, son of the blessed Ioannes, signing below in his own hand, from the same city. I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, swearing the divine and august oath, that I guarantee and pledge to your extraordinariness Aurelii Herminus and Sourous, full brothers, father (), originating from the holding of Megales Tarouthinou of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your extraordinariness, registered farmers, on condition that they shall remain continuously and abide in the said holding and pay the rents owed by them to your extraordinariness or I shall give (them) from my home on their behalf and pay your extraordinariness on their behalf. And if they are required of me, I shall bring (them) forward and deliver (them) up, without (recourse to) any refuge, in the place where I have also received them. in the prison of your glorious house. If I fail to do this, I acknowledge myself accountable to answer all that is required of them. The surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I assented.' (2nd hand) 'I, Petrus, monk, son of Ioannes—this surety satisfies me as aforesaid.'

(3rd hand) 'Completed through me, Parnuthius.'

Back: 'Surety made by Petrus, monk, son of Ioannes, from the (city) of the Oxyrhynchites, pledging for Herminus and Sourous from Megales Tarouthinou.'

1-3 The reference to the 'heirs' (κληρονόμοις) of Apion in 4, as well as the fact that the document is signed by the notary Parnuthius (see 5397 16 n.), places the date of the text between 579 and 583 (see P. Oxy. LXX p. 79). The fourth year in 3 should refer to the consular count of Tiberius II (T. Constantinus), which began on i.i.582, in the course of his 8th regnal year. Tiberius II died on 13.viii.582, but

Mauricius, his successor, first appears in Oxyrhynchus in October; this should be the *terminus ante quem*. See *CSBE* 153.

The line-divisions are only tentative, and there may have been more abbreviations than assumed.

4 The supplements are based on the fact that the document is signed by Parnuthius; see *LXX 4792* 5–6 n.

7 μοι[α]ζων και α[ρχ]ιμειδρι[της]. This combination of titles is not found elsewhere in the papyri, but two of the archimandrites of Constantinople so describe themselves in their signatures in *CCP* (448) *Act. ap. C Chalc.* (451) *Act. 1* (552.39, 51; *ACO* II.1.1 147.6, 25 Schwartz). Documents from Aphrodito sometimes pair μοναζων with προεστως. The term αρχιμανδριτης is discussed by E. Wipszycka in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* I (1991) 192–4; *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV–VIII siècles)* (2009) 329–31.

8 μοναστηρίου Πα[μου]θίου. A horizontal trace on the edge touching iota at mid height suits theta and excludes nu. It is unclear whether *XVI 1917* 26, *πρεβύτερος* και οικ(ονόμος) του Αγίου Πα Παμουθίου, refers to the same establishment.

11 'Ερμίνον και Σουρούν. It may be a coincidence that these names recur in the two other contemporary sureties for persons originating from Megales Tarouthinou: Sourous son of Phib in *LXX 4790* (578), and Abraamius son of Herminus in *I 135* (579).

12 Μεγάλης Ταρουθίνου. See *4790* 15 n.; *RSON*² 385–6.

15 και πληρωϊτας. The conjunction mars the grammar, but, as WBH points out, διδόντας was probably omitted before it (cf. *LXII 4349* 3 (504) διδόντα και πληρωϊτα); 'we need the pair to balance 16 διδόναι και αποπληρωϊσαι'.

πληρωϊτας τὰ χρεωσταύμενα παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκφόρια. References to rent payments are made in two other sureties, both of which involve *adscripticii*: *SB XVIII 13949.12* (Oxy.; 541) εὐν[ω]μοινοῦντα (εὐ πληρωϊτα ed. pr.; an image was kindly provided by M. Tsuncishi) καὶ ἀπ[ο]πληρωϊντα π[α]ντοῖα ἐκφόρια τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γεουχικῆς μ[η]χανῆς; *XXVII 2478* 19–20 (595) εὐνωμονεῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φόρον κατ' ἔτος.

16–17 ἤ[ε]ν ἐμέ οικθεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόναι και αποπληρωϊσαι τὴν ὑμῶν ὑπερβείαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. The second ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν is unnecessary. For the expression, cf. *SB 13949.16* ἤ[ε]ν ἀντ' [α]ὐτ[οῦ] ἐμῆ εὐνωμοῖται (...) ε. ωμοινηα ed. pr.; ἐμέ supplied by WBH); *2478* 26–7 ἢ ἐι μὴ τοῦτο ποιῆς, ὁμολογῶ οικθεν [ὑπ]ὲρ αὐτοῦ πληρωϊσαι | τὰ ἐκφόρια τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεουχικοῦ πωμαριου.

18 δίχα προσφυγῆς τινος. The collocation also occurs in *5397* 8 and *LXX 4794* 17, which are likewise signed by Parnuthius. The standard expression in Oxyrhynchite deeds of surety is δίχα οἱ ἐκτός παιτός τόπου προσφυγῆς, often followed by και λόγου (in this volume, see *5373* 17, *5375* 16, *5378* 15, *5384* 27, *5395* 16); but cf. *SB VI 9152* = *XVIII 13953* = *P. Eirene II 12.17* (Heracl.; 492) πάσης οἰακδήππε εἰλλης προσφυγῆς.

N. GONIS

5383. LEASE OF LAND

53 1B.26(D)/A(11)b

ft. 1 9.5 × 14.8 cm, fr. 2 18 × 19.9 cm

24 September 583

Two fragments pieced together from smaller ones and some debris from the upper part of a lease of a half part of an irrigator (μηχανῆ), with associated appurtenances and land; cf. *5370*, *5380*. The lessees are two men from a well-known Apionic holding, who present as guarantors a φρονιτικῆς and the son of a φρονιτικῆς from another Apionic hamlet. If not all four, the

guarantors at least are *adscripticii*; see 14 n. (cf. 12 n.). The rent is payable in wheat and money, and there will also be some extra payments. Nothing is said about the duration of the lease, which was presumably indefinite.

The text is written along the fibres.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγί(του)
 εὐεργέ(τ)ο(υ) Φλαοῦτου [Τ]ιβηρίου
 Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου καὶ Ἀυτοκράτορος ἔτους β, μετὰ τὴν
 ὑπατίαν τοῦ τῆς θείας
 λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Τιβηρίου Κων(σταντίνου) ἔτους 5, Θωθ κς,
 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) β^ο.
 τ(οῖς) ὑπερφυστάτοις κληρονόμοις τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμη(ς) Ἀπί(ωνος)
 γενομένου
 5 πρ(ω)τοπα(τ)ρικίου γ(ε)ουχοῦσιν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρῇ Ὁξυ(ρυχ)ιτῶν πόλει
 διὰ Μηνᾶ
 οἰκέτο(υ) τοῦ ἐπερ(ω)τωντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τ(οῖς) ἰδ(ι)οῖς δεσπ(ο)ταῖς τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς
 πανευφ(ή)μοις ἀνδρ(ά)ει τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχ(ή)ν, Ἀὐρήλιου Φοιβά(μ)μων καὶ
 Ἐνώχ
 ὁμογενῆσιν ἀδελ(φ)οῖς, υἱοῖς c.8] μητρὸς Ραχ(ή)λ, ὁμώ(μ)νοι ἀπὸ ἐποικίου
 Ἀκτουαρίου τοῦ Ὁξ(υ)ρυχίτου νομοῦ μετ' ἐ(γ)γγυητῶν τῶν καὶ ἀναδεχομένων
 αὐτοῦς
 10 εἰς τε τὴν παράδ(ο)σιν καὶ ἀπόδ(ο)σιν τῆς νομῆς τοῦ ἐξῆς δηλουμένου
 καὶ μισθουμένου [υ] ἡμίσε(ω)ς μέρους μ(η)χανῆς καὶ φόρου αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰωσήφ
 φροντιστοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰωάν(ν)ου ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Πιαα καὶ Βίκτορος υἱοῦ Πεκυσίου
 φροντιστοῦ
 μητρὸς Τεκραμπε ἀπὸ [ἐποικίου Φατ]εμητ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ, τῶν τριῶν
 κτημ(ά)των διαφ(ε)ρόντων
 αὐτῇ, ἐναπόγραφοι ἀν(τ)ῆς γεωρ(γ)οί, χαίρειν]. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδεχόμεθα μισθώσασθαι
 15 ἡμ(εῖς) οἱ μισθούμενοι Φοι(βά)μμων καὶ Ἐνώχ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτους ἔτους cξ κθ
 τῆς παρούσης δευτέρα(ς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)), κατασποράς δὲ καὶ κυλλογῆς καρπῶν
 τῆς σὺν Θεῷ
 τρίτης ἐπινεμ(ή)σεως, ἀπὸ τῶ(ν) ὑπ(α)ρχόντων τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερ(φ)υ(εῖα) ἀπὸ
 μ(η)χανῆς καλουμένης
 Ἀπλεκουχ Ἀπ(η)λιωτ(ικῆς) τὸ ἡμῖν μέρος μετὰ τοῦ ἡμίσεως μέρους τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ
 λάκκου

III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

- καὶ ὑδρορέματος καὶ κ[υκλευτ]ηρίου καὶ μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων καὶ φυτῶν
παντοίων
- 20 καὶ παντὸς ἑτέρου δικ[αίου ταύτ]ης καὶ ἀρουρῶν ὅσα ἐὰν ὦσιν ἀκολουθῶς
γε[ο]υχικῶ
ἀπα[ιτ]ησίμῳ ἐί(ς) σπορ[ᾶν ὧν ἐὰ]ν αἰρώμαι γενημάτων· κα[ὶ] τελέσομεν τῆ
ὑμετ[έ]ρα
ὑπερφ[υεῖα] ὑπὲρ φόρου το[ύτων ἐν]αυσίως ἐν [τ]ε εἰτῶ καὶ χυρσί[φ(ς)]
]...[.]...[.]]...[.]...[.]...[.] αμε[.]... ἐκτα[κτ-
έορ]τικά [

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

- 25 (m.2) +] μίσθ(ωσις) Φοιβάμμωνος καὶ Ἐνώ[χ]
]...[.]...[.] ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀκτουαρίου
] Πιαα καὶ Βίκ[τορος

1 φλαουίου	2 ὑπατία; l. ὑπατεία	3 ἱμῆκ	9 ε]γ'γυθων	11 ἰωσηφ
12 νίου (βίη)	13 κτημύδιαφ	14 εναπογραφ	15 l. ἐνεστῶτος	17, 21-2 = ὑμετεραυπερφ
17 ἐπιμεσ, καλουμῆ	21 l. αἰρώματα	22 ὑπερ	25 μισθ	26 ἐποιμ

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 2, after the consulship of our former master Tiberius Constantinus of divine deace, year 6, Thoth 26, indiction 2.

'To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion of well-famed memory, the former first *patricius*, landowners also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), Aurelii Phoibammon and Enoch, full brothers, sons of ..., mother Rachel, originating from the hamlet of Actuariou of the Oxyrhynchite nome, with, as guarantors who undertake the responsibility for them in respect of the delivery and return of the right of possession of the half-share of the irrigator indicated and leased below and its rent, us, Ioseph, caretaker, son of Ioannes, from the hamlet of Piaa, and Victor son of Pecysius, caretaker, mother Tecrampe, from the hamlet of Phatemet of the same nome, the three holdings belonging to you, registered farmers of yours, greeting. Voluntarily we, the lessors Phoibammon and Enoch, undertake to lease from the current year 260/229 of the present second indiction, for the sowing and collection of the crops of the God willing third epinemesis, from the possessions of your extraordinariness the half-share of an irrigator called "Aplecuch Eastern", along with the half-share of the cistern in it and of the well and waterwheel and the machinery of the irrigator and the plants of all kinds and every other right of it and as many aruras as they may be in accordance with the landlord's exactions list for the sowing of whatever crops I (read: "we") may choose; and we shall pay to your extraordinariness in respect of rent for them annually, in wheat as well as in gold, ... the extraordinary payments ... the festive payments ...'

Back: (2nd hand) 'Lease of Phoibammon and Enoch ... hamlet of Actuariou ... Piaa and Victor ...'

1-3 The iteration figure of the postconsulate of Tiberius II ought to have been 5; see P. Oxy. LVIII p. 55. Contrast I 137 (11.1.584), dated by the 6th postconsular year; cf. also 5384. [The 6th postconsular year of Tiberius II also appears in 65 6B.36/L(3-4)a of 27 June 584, which uses the same formula and refers to the same regnal and indiction years as 5383; an edition of this text will appear in a forthcoming volume.]

4 The restored κληρονόμοις relies on the length of the lacuna and suits the date of the text. This term is attested as late as 8. v. 583 (LXX 4796; its latest instance in a document connected with Parnuthius is in I 136 of 24. v. 583), replaced by διάδοχοι shortly thereafter (first in I 137 of 11.1.584). G. Azzarello notes that διαδόχοις might fit if πανευκλεοῦς were written in place of εὐκλεοῦς.

5 πρῶ[τοπατ]ρικίου. The term is typical of documents signed by Parnuthius; see LXX 4792 5-6 n.

9 Ἀκουαρίου. Cf. 26. An Apionic holding; see *RSON*² 25-6, which tentatively locates it in the vicinity of Oxyrhynchus. (For the dubious case of XVI 1856 2, see *Tyche* 30 (2015) 225.) Its connections with Φατεμη(ν)τ are well documented.

μετ' εἴγγυθῶν. Cf. 5380 7 and n.

12 φρονιτεῖο. On this function, see LXX 4792 10 n.; cf. Hickey, *Wine* 65 n. 22. Apionic φρονιτεῖα are generally ἐναπόγραφοι.

Πισα. Cf. 27. An Apionic holding in the sixth century; see *RSON*² 282. Nothing is known about its location but we may surmise that it was situated near Ἀκουαρίου and Φατεμη(ν)τ.

13 Πατ[εμη]τ. Another Apionic holding; see *RSON*² 415.

14 αὐτῆ was added in the margin as an afterthought, in place of the abstract expected after διαφ(ερόντων), viz. τῆ ἑμῶν ὑπερβολῆς. It has no antecedent, but the expected phrase would not fit.

ἐναπόγραφο(οι) αὐ[τ]ῆς γεωργοί. I have restored the nominative, even though the lessees are mentioned several lines above; it is also possible that the genitive was meant, with reference to the guarantors. At any rate, the fact that lessees as well as guarantors originate from Apionic holdings (κτῆματα) suggests that all four were ἐναπόγραφοι. Cf. 5380 9 n.

15 ἦμ' εἰς οἱ μεθούμενοι Φο[β]δάμμου καὶ Ἐνώχ. This phrase is unparalleled at this point. It may have been included because of the references to the two guarantors immediately before.

ἐνεστῶτους, I. ἐνεστῶτος. -ους is due to ἔτους that follows rather than a phonetic error.

18 Ἀπλεκουχ Ἀπηλιωτ[ικῆς]. This place name is new, but the second word has occurred as the name of irrigators in XVI 2037 17 and LXXXII 5332 12. In the latter instance, Ἀπηλιωτικῆς is followed by a lacuna some ten letters long; apparently an additional name was lost.

21 εἰ(ε) σπορ[ῶν]. See Gignac, *Grammar* i 125 n. 1.

22 ἐν [τ]ε εἴψω καὶ χρυσί(ω(?)). The expression can be paralleled from documents from Aphrodito which invariably have χρυσίκοις at this point (P. Cair. Masp. II 67245.3, P. Lond. V 1695.13, P. Mich. XIII 667.9, P. Vat. Aphrod. 25 fr. C.20). From Oxyrhynchus, cf. P. BUG inv. 47.9 ἐν τ[ε] χρυσίω καὶ οὖν (the papyrus belongs to the dossier of Anastasia and is unpublished; I owe the reference to T. M. Hickey).

The rent is payable in wheat and money also in PSI I 77 (a whole *μηχανή*; 55 art. and 4 sol.) and P. Berl. Zill. 7 (*μηχανή* + 12 artas; 40 art. + 2 sol.), XVIII 2195 37 (9 art. + 2½ sol.), and probably PSI VIII 920 and LVIII 3955. Contrast 5367 and apparently 5380, where the rent will be paid only in wheat.

23-4 Cf. P. Berl. Zill. 7.23-4 δώσω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑκτακτα πάντα καὶ τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν γεουχ(ικά) | ὑπηρεσίας πάσας, καὶ τὰ ἐορτικά καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα κτλ.; also LVIII 3955 20.

23]αμε[. The first letter is somewhat damaged, but omicron (δω[ε]ρομε[ν]) is not a possible reading. τ[α] μέ[ν] ἑκτακτα (WBH) is attractive, but paralleled only from earlier documents.

26-7 These lines refer to the guarantors; cf. 11-13. I have not reconstructed the lost parts, since certain details may have been omitted in the docket.

5384. DEED OF SURETY

54 1B.25(B)/B(6)b + a

16 x 30 cm

29 August – c.17 November 584

A surety addressed to the 'successors' of Apion II by two persons, one of them (and probably also the other) an *ἐναπόγραφος ναύτης*, a novelty among *adscripticii*. The person under surety is likewise a sailor and originates from the same Apionic holding as his guarantors but is not said to be an *ἐναπόγραφος*, probably an inadvertent omission. The body of the document is written as if there were only one guarantor, a failed adaptation of the formula on the part of the scribe.

This document offers the latest dating by the postconsulate of the deceased Tiberius II. The month and day are not extant, but the Oxyrhynchite era year 261/230, coterminous with indiction 3, began on 29 August 584. The earliest reference to the consular count of Mauricius comes from the Arsinoite CPR X 127 (28.viii.584), followed by the Oxyrhynchite PSI III 248 (28.x.–26.xi.584) and 5385 (18.xi.584). The last document provides the *terminus ante quem*, though CPR X 127 suggests a date in Thoth for 5384.

The writing runs along the fibres.

- † βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐξ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης [μ]ε[ρ]ί[τ]του
 εὐεργέτου Φλαοῦνιου Τιβερίου] Μαυρικίου τοῦ [α]ἰωνίου Ἀγούστ[ου]
 Ἀυτοκράτορος ἔτους γ, μετὰ τὴν ὑ]πατίαν τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξ(εως)
 γενομ(ένου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης Τιβερίου] ἢ Κωνσταντίνου ἔτους 5,
 5 month n, ἰν]δ(ικτίωνος) γ, (ἔτους) εἴα ελ̄.
 τοῖς ὑπερφυστάτοις δια]δόχοις τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς
 μνήμης Ἀπίωνος γενομένου πρ]ωτοπατρικ[ι]ο]υ γεουχοῦσιν
 καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρῇ Ὁξ]υρυγχι(των) πόλει διὰ Μηνᾶ
 οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶν]τος καὶ προσποριζόντος
 10 τοῖς ἰδίοις δεσπότηαις τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανεμφήμοις
 ἀνδράσι τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχῆν, Ἀυρήλιοι Ἄνουπ
 υἱὸς c.26]υς υἱὸς Ἰούστου
 μητρὸς c.10 δ]ρμ[ώ]μενος ἀπὸ κτῆματος
 . . . τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου] νομοῦ διαφέροντος τῇ ὑμετέρ(α)
 15 ὑπε]ρφυ[ε]ίᾳ ἐν[α]πόγραφος αὐτῆς ναύτης. ὁμολογῶ
 ἑκουσίᾳ γνώ[μ]η καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ προαιρέσει ἐπωμνύμενος
 τὸν θεῖον καὶ [σε]β[ί]α]μιον ὄρκον ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχ(εσθαι)
 παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ὑπερφ(εΐᾳ) διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ προσηκόντων
 Ἀυρήλιον Ἰούστου ναύτην υἱὸν Cιβανοῦ μητρὸς
 20 Ταρίλλας ὀρμῶμ(ενου) καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτῆμ(ατος)

ἐφ' ὧτε αὐτὸν ἀδιαλείπτως παραμείναι καὶ διάγειν
 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κτήμ(ατι) καὶ μηδ' αὐτὸν ἀπολειμπάνεσθ(αι)
 μήτε μὴν μεθίσθαι[ς]θαι εἰς ἕτερον [τ]όπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἐπιζητούμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ παρὰ τῆς ὑμέτερας
 25 ὑπερφυείας ἐν οἰαδ[ή]ποτε ἡμέρα, οἰαδηποτοῦν
 ἐνεκ[ε]ν προφάσεως, τοῦτον παραφέρω καὶ παραδώς(ω)
 δίχα παντὸς τόπου προσφυγῆς ἐνθα αὐτὸν καὶ
 παρείληφα, ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου. εἰ δὲ
 μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω, ὁμολογῶ ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι πᾶσιν
 30 τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιζητοῦμ(ένοις) ἀποκρεῖν[α]ς[θ]αι. κυρ(ία) ἢ ἐγγύη
 ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὦμ[ολ(όγησα).+] (m.2) τ[ὸ] κοινὸν [τῶν
 προγεγραμμένων)
 ὀνομάτ[ω]ν ζτοιχεῖ ἡμ[ῖν] αὐτ[ῆ] ἢ ἐγγ[ύ]η ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).
 Παπνο[ύ]βιος ἐγρ(αψα) (ὑπέρ) αὐτῶν [ἀ]γραμμ(άτων) ὄντων.
 (vac.) |

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

35 (m.3) † ἐγγύη Ἄνουπ υἱοῦ |, καὶ . . . α. ου υἱοῦ Ἰούστου ἀναδεχομ(ένων)
 Ἰούστ[ου]
 |. αν[]ου†

1 ευ[ς]εβ[ς]	3 I. ὑπατεῖαν	ληβ	5 ιν[δ]α, γ	7 γεουχοῦσιν	8 ο[φ]ιουρχ[ς]
11 I. Αὐρήλιος	12 υἱοῦστοῦ	14 ὑμετερ	16 εκουσία	1. ἐπομύμενος	17 εγγυαθαι
αναδεχ[ς]	18 ὑμετεραῦπερφ	19 ἰουστον, υἱον	20 ταριλλασορμυμ[ς]	20, 22 κτημ[ς]	
21 αὐτον corr. from αὐτου	20ς corr. from τω[ς]	1. ἀδιαλείπτως	22 I. μηδ' αὐτῶν	ἀπολειμπάνεσθ[ς]	
1. ἀπολειμπάνεσθαι	23 I. μεθίσθαι	24 ὑμετερας	25 ὑπερφυείας	26 παραδω[ς]	
28 ὑμων	29 ὑπευθυνος; I. ὑπεύθυνος	πασίν	30 ἐπιζητοῦμ[ς], κυρ, εγγύη	1. ἀποκρίσθαι	
31 ἀπ[λ]γραφ[ς] επερ	33 εγγρ[ς]	35 υἱοῦστουναδεχομ[ς]ιουστ[ς]			

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus (and) Imperator, year 3, after the consulship of our former master Tiberius Constantinus of divine decease, year 6, month, day, indiction 3, year 261/230.

'To the most extraordinary successors of Apion of well-famed memory, former first *πατρις*, land-owners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *οἰκetes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), Aurelii Anup son of ... (and) —us son of Iustus, mother ..., originating from the holding ... of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your extraordinariness, a registered sailor of yours. I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, swearing the divine and august oath, that I guarantee and pledge to your extraordinariness through your subordinates Aurelius Iustus, sailor, son of Silvanus, mother Tarilla, originating himself too from the same holding, on condition that he shall remain

continuously and abide in the same holding, and that he shall on no account leave (this holding) or remove to another place; but if he is required of me by your extraordinariness at any date, for any reason whatsoever, I shall bring him forward and hand him over, without recourse to any place of refuge, in the place where I received him, in the prison of your glorious house. If I do not do this, I acknowledge myself accountable to answer for all that is required of him. The surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I assented.' (2nd hand) 'We, the collective body of the aforewritten persons—this surety satisfies us as aforesaid. I, Pappnuthius, wrote for them because they are illiterate. ...'

Back: (3rd hand) 'Surety ... Anup son of ... and —us son of Iustus, pledging for Iustus ...'

3 The number of the regnal year is restored on the basis of the Oxyrhynchite year and indiction; see *CSBE*² 153.

3–4 The latest postconsular dating by Tiberius II was previously 1 137 of 11.i.584 (for CPR XIX 15 see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 151 (2005) 128–30). Year 6 should correspond to 585, but this kind of numbering is common; for the postconsular count of Tiberius II, see *ZPE* 154 (2005) 213.

11 The restoration of ἀνδράσι is guaranteed by the date of this document.

11–12 Ἀυρήλοι, less likely Ἀυρήλοιοι, introduces a plurality of persons, and the length of the lacuna in 12 also suggests that there was not only one;]υε will be the end of the name of the second guarantor. There are plurals also in the subscription and illiteracy formula; cf. also the endorsement.

15 ἐν[από]γραφος αὐτῆς γαύτης. For other ἐναπόγραφοι who were not γεωργοί, see LXX 4790 27 n.; P. Pintaudi 19.13.

31 For the restored [γῶν προγεγραμμένων], cf. the descriptions of two other bodies of persons, P. Lond. V 1764.8 and P. Select. 20.23, both added by Pappnuthius. Cf. also 5370 7 and n., 5379 6.

36] ar[]ou. This must have been the origin of the person under surety, lost at the beginning of 14. I have not succeeded in reading the name of a known Oxyrhynchite toponym in the remains.

N. GONIS

5385. RECEIPT FOR A COGWHEEL

52 1B.26(C)/F(6)b + 53 1B.26(F)/A(7)2(2) 18.8 × 30.8 cm

18 November 584

Four fragments combine to give most of this receipt for a large cogwheel. The lost parts can be restored with a fair amount of confidence; only the name of the *adscripticius* who receives the cogwheel is hard to recover. The reference to Apion II as πρωτοπατρίκιος identifies the text as the product of a scribe who worked for the notary Pappnuthius, whose hand is to be recognized in the subscription of the amanuensis. His signature is lost; one of the shorter versions would have been used (we seem to have the full height of the document).

Along with VI 996 = SB XVI 12484, which dates from two days later, 5385 shows that Julian year 584 was counted as Mauricius' consular year 1 at Oxyrhynchus (he took his consulate in 583). This further 'suggests that there was an initial attempt to deal with all three years [= regnal, consular, indiction] correctly' (J. R. Rea, P. Oxy. LVIII p. 55). We have no evidence from 585, but by late September 586 a different system was in use; see 5387 introd.

The writing runs along the fibres.

† β]ας[ε]λ[είας του θειοτά]του και εὐς[β(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίσ]του
 εὐ[ε]ργέτου Φλ(αου)ου Τιβ[ε]ρίου Μ[α]υρικίου του αἰωνίου Αὐ[γούστου
 και Α]ύτοκ[ρ] (άτορος) [ἔτους] γ, [ὑπατία]ς του αὐ[τοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
 (δεσπότης) ἔτους α,

Ἄθουρ κβ, ιν[δ(ικτίωνος) γ.

- 5 τοῖς ὑπερφυστάτοις [διαδ]όχοι[ς του τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνη]μήης
 Ἀπίωνος γενομένου [πρω]τοπατρι[κίου γεου]χοῦεν
 και ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρυχιτῶ[ν πόλει, δια Μην]ᾶ
 οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερω[τῶ]ντος και προσ[πορί]ζ[ον]τος τοῖς ἰδι[ο]ις
 δ[ε]σπότηις τῆν ἀ]γαγῆν και ἐνοχῆν, Α[ὐ]ρήλιος . [. .] . [. .]
 10 υἱός c.8] μητρὸς Στεφανοῦδο[ς] ἀπο ἐποικίου
 Ἀσιπιδᾶ τ[οῦ Ὀξ]υρυχιτοῦ νομοῦ διαφέροντος τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ
 ὑπερφυξ[ε] [ἰα ε]ναπόγραφος αὐτῆς γεωργ[ό]ς, χαίρειν.
 χρειὰς κα[ὶ] νῦν γε[ν]αμένης εἰς τῆν ὑπ' ἐμῆ γεουχικῆν)
 μηχανῆ[ν] καλου[μ]ένην Πελαίε ἀντ[λο]ύ[σα]ν
 15 εἰς ἀρο[σί]μην γῆν μεγάλου ἐργάτου ἐ[ν]ός
 ἀνελ[θῶν] ἐπὶ τῆς (πάλευς) ἡξίωσα τῆν ὑμῶν ὑπερ[φύ]ειαν
 ὡς [τε] κελεύ[σαι] μοι τὸν αὐτὸν μέγαν ἐργ[άτη]ν
 παρασχεθῆναι.] και εὐθέως ἡ ὑμετέρα ὑπ[ε]ρφύεια
 πρόνοιαν ποιου[μένη] τῆς συκτάσεως τῶ[ν] ἑαυτῆς
 20 πραγμάτων το[ῦ]το παρεσχετό μοι διὰ [. .] . [. . . .
 τοῦ ἐνταῦθα] μηχανουργοῦ καινὸν ἐπιτήδιον
 ἀντλητικὸν ἐξάρεστον ἐδεξάμην εἰς ἀναπλήρ(ωσι)
 πάντων τῶν] μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων ἐν τῇ
 σήμερον ἡμ[ε]ρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἄθουρ κβ τῆς παρούσης)
 25 τρίτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), ὑ]δροπαροχίας καρπῶν τῆς
 σὺν Θεῷ τετ[άρ]της ἐπιμετήσεως. και
 πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν] τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην
 πεποιῆμαι τῇ]ν χειρογραφίαν, ἥτις κυρία οὐσα
 ἀπλή γραφεῖσα κ]αὶ ἐπερω[τῆ]θ[ε] (εἰς) ἀμολόγησα).
 30 (m.2) Αὐρήλιος c.14 στοιχ[ε] [ε]ἰ] μοι α[ὐ]τῆ ἡ
 χειρογρ(αφία) ὡς πρόκειται. Παπνοῦθιος ἔγραψα (ὑπερ) αὐτ[οῦ]
 ἄγραμμάτου ὄντος. (m.3) γί(νεται) μεγάλου ἐργάτου ἐνός.
] (vac.)

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† χειρ(ογραφία) [] . ιτ[. .] . [. .] . πρ . [

3 α]βροκ[ρ]	4 ιν[	5 ὑπερφυστασις	11 ὑμετερα	12 ὑπερφημ[	13 ὄπ,
γουχημ	14 πελαίε	16 ὑμωυπερ[	18 ὄπ[	21 ι. ἐπιτήδειον	22 αναπληρ
24 παροικς	27 ὑποδοχης	29 ωμολογ!	31 ψ.	32 ι. μέγας[ἐργάτης ε]ε	33 χειρ

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 3, in the consulship of our same most pious master year 1, Hathyr 22, indiction 3.

'To the most extraordinary successors of Apion of well-famed memory, former first *patricius*, land-owners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), Aurelius ... son of ... mother Stephanous, from the hamlet of Aspida of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your excellence, a registered farmer of yours, greeting. Since now too a need for one large cogwheel has arisen in the estate irrigator in my charge called "Pelaïe", irrigating arable land, I came up to the city and asked your extraordinariness to order that the same large cogwheel be provided to me. And immediately your extraordinariness showing regard for the state of its affairs provided this to me through ... the mechanic here: a new (cogwheel), serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory. I received this as completion of all the irrigation implements on this very day, which is Hathyr 22 of the present third indiction, for the water supply of the crops of the God willing fourth epinemesis. And as evidence for the receipt I have made this cheirograph, which is binding, written in a single copy, and in reply to the formal question I assisted.' (2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius ... son of ...—this cheirograph satisfies me as aforesaid. I, Pappnuthius, have written on his behalf as he is illiterate.' (3rd hand) 'Total one large cogwheel only. ...'

Back: 'Cheirograph ...'

3 The text as printed restores the standard Oxyrhynchite formula (CSBE² 260–61), and assumes that the scribe omitted *δεεπότου* by mistake. For other omissions in this text, see 9 and 16.

ἔτους α. The consular year number is damaged in VI 996 = SB XVI 12484, but was apparently correctly read as α. On the analogy of 5385 and 996, we may restore the consular year as [β] instead of [α] in PSI III 248.6, dated to an unknown day of Hathyr in year 3.

4 ἡ[θ(ικτιώνος) γ. The number of the indiction here and in 25 is securely restored on the basis of the *ἐπιτέμνησις* in 26.

5–6 The mode of reference to Apion II indicates that the text was produced at the office of the notary Pappnuthius; see LXX 4792 6 n.

9 ἡ[εσπόται τὴν ἀ]γμην. There is no room for τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανευφήμοις ἀνδράσι. For omissions in this text, see 3 n.; a similar omission in this phrase at 5372 5.

10 Στεφανουδο[ς]. The name in this spelling is otherwise attested only for one other person in I 126 17, 24, 32, and LXXXII 5340 B, 17 (both 572). The common spelling is with tau instead of delta.

11 Μετιδᾶ. See RSON² 45. Μετιδᾶ is mostly said to be an Apionic holding, but LIX 4755 of 86 associates it with a different landowner. See further 5393 9 n.

14 Πελαίε. New.

20 διὰ [. .] The mechanic's name is unrecoverable, but the traces suggest that he was not Zacharias, attested in 586–7. On this expression and mechanics in the Apion estate, see LXX 4798 14–15 n. They appear in connection with cogwheels (ἐργάται) in all such texts except for XVI 1986 = SB XII 11231, which concerns an axle.

32 μεγάλου) ἐργάτου ἐνόε. Also in the genitive in LXX 4788 31. For a similar annotation, see above, 5376 II.

N. GONIS

5386. RECEIPT FOR FLOUR

61 6B.63/G(3-4)a

31.7 x 8.3 cm

24 November 585
Plate VII

A baker has supplied a quantity of fine flour for what seems to be a banquet to celebrate the brumalia of Apion III. The feast of brumalia began on 24 November, which corresponded to Hathyr 28 in a non-leap year; this was the day dedicated to people whose names started with A, and hence that of Apion. The festivity was previously attested in two contemporary Apionic wine accounts; see below, 1-2 n.

This document offers the earliest reference to Apion III as a consul (honorary); contrast his status in 5381.

The text is written across the fibres on the front of the original roll, as indicated by a sheet join running horizontally close to the lower edge. The back is blank.

† ἐδόθη(ησαν) δι(ὰ) Βίκτορος ἀρτοκ(όπου) (υαε.) εἰς χρεῖ(αν) τῶν ᾧ ἀκκουβίτων
ἐν τοῖς αἰεῖσις
βρωμαλ(ίσις) τοῦ δεσπό(του) ἡμῶν τοῦ ὑπερφυσ(άτου) ὑπάτου Ἀπίωνος Ἄθου
κῆ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ὃς κυμηδάλεως ξέε(ται)
δεκαοκτώ, γίνονται κυμη(ιδ)ά(λεως) ξέ(εται) ἡ μό(νοι). (m.2) † γίνονται
κυμηδάλεως ξέ(εται) δεκαοκτώ μό(νοι).
(m.1)(ἔτους) εξβ καὶ κλα, Ἄθου κῆ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) τετάρτη.

1 εδοθη³ δι⁴. αρτοκ⁵ χρε⁶ 2 βρωμαλ⁷ δεσπ⁸, υπερφυσ⁹, κυμηδαλεω¹⁰ 2. 4 κη
2. 3 I. κυμηδαλεω¹¹ 3 κυμηδ¹² ε¹³ ημ¹⁴ 4 γ¹⁵ κυμηδαλεω¹⁶ 5 γ¹⁷

'Given through Victor, baker, for the need of the 3 dining-rooms(?) for the auspicious brumalia of our master the most extraordinary consul Apion, on Hathyr 28, indiction 4, eighteen sextarii of fine flour, total 18 sextarii of fine flour only.' (2nd hand) 'Total eighteen sextarii of fine flour only.'
(1st hand) 'Year 262 and 231, Hathyr 28, indiction fourth.'

1 Βίκτορος ἀρτοκ(όπου). Victor was known from P. Hamb. III 216.1 (586), in which he provides bread to workers under the supervision of a brick maker, and XVIII 2197 79 (the indictions mentioned in this part cover the period 581-4; see LXX 4792 10 n.), where bricks are said to be supplied εἰς χρεῖαν τῆ(ς) διορθ(ώσεως) τοῦ ἀρτοκ[ο]πίου Βίκτορος ἀρτοκ(όπου).

ἀκκουβίτων. Of the various meanings associated with this Latin loanword, 'dining-room, refectory' (DGE and LSJ Rev. Suppl. s.v. 3) suits the context better than 'dining couch', 'bed', or 'bedroom'; see further P. Leid. Inst. 13.27 n. and *Lex. Lat. Lehnw.* I 58-9. G. Azzarello suggests instead that the reference may be to the three dining couches of a triclinium.

1–2 ἐν τοῖς αἰεῖοις βρωμαλ(ίαις) κατλ. An entry in a wine account, XXVII 2480 37 ἐν τοῖς αἰεῖ(αις) βρωμαλ(ίαις) τ[οῦ] δεσπότης ἡμῶν τοῦ ὑπερφυετ(άτου) Ἀπίωνος Ἄθου κη ἰδ(ικτιῖνος) ἰδ, offers a close parallel. This indiction 14 was long thought to correspond to 565/6, and the Apion in question was identified as Apion II (see F. Perpillou-Thomas, *Tyche* 8 (1993) 107–9), but Hickey, *Wine* 95–7, has made a strong case for 580/81; the account would have been written after the indiction's end. If the Apion of 2480 is Apion III, a problem arises from his epithet ὑπερφυετατος, used of persons of consular or higher dignity (see C. Begass, *ZPE* 180 (2012) 283–6): Apion is called ἐνδοξάτατος, an epithet that implies a lower rank, in 5381, which also concerns indiction 14 and was written after its end. But fossilization is not uncommon in such accounts (cf. 5396 3 n.), so that this could merely replicate a phrase earlier used for Apion II even if it now referred to Apion III; it may be relevant that ὑπάτου is absent from 2480. (Hickey, *Wine* 97 n. 25, on the basis of the evidence available previously, had considered the wording of 2480 'a more fitting reference to the young Apion III than to his distinguished grandfather'.) PSI VIII 956.46, another wine account, refers to the brumalia of Apion II, but the passage is fragmentary. R. Mazza in A. Saggiaro (ed.), *Diritto romano e identità cristiana* (2005) 176 n. 34, mentions an unpublished fragment of this document that contains the date Hathyr 28; the account concerns indiction 1 = 567/8, when Hathyr 28 corresponded to 25.xi.567, but this could not have been the date of Apion's brumalia. (For the same reason, 2480 cannot refer to 595/6: in that year, the brumalia of Apion III fell on Hathyr 27, not 28.)

2 εμηθάλ(εως), l. εεμ-. This spelling is also found in Didym. *In Ecl.* 347.1 (Pap. Texte Abh. IX 156): εμμ-, as in the next line, is more familiar (already in SEG XXXI 122.36 (Attica; c.121/2) εμμθαλις; 'probably assimilation' according to L. Threatte. *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* ii (1996) 703). On the product see E. Battaglia, *Ἄρτοι: Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci* (1989) 66–7; S. Amigues, *JS* 2003, 34. It has occurred in one other Apionic text, XVI 1921 15 (621) εμμθαλ(εως) πεμφθ(είσης) Βοττῆ τῶ ἐνδοξ(ιστάτω).

4 Year 262/231 = indiction 4 = 585/6.

N. GONIS

5387. RECEIPT FOR REPLACEMENT PART(S) OF AN IRRIGATOR

54 1B.26(E)/C(9)a 1.2 × 4.3 cm, 5.5 × 6.5 cm, 3.4 × 6.4 cm, 6.8 × 6.1 cm 24 September 586
Plate XVI

This document offers the earliest secure example of the reckoning of the consular years of Mauricius from the month of Thoth instead of the anniversary of his entry to the consulship, a practice peculiar to Oxyrhynchus. XVI 1989 of 3 November 590 (see P. Oxy. LVIII pp. 54, 57) once held this position, and then LXX 4799 of 5 October 586, a fact not noticed at the time of its publication. 5387, written twelve days earlier than 4799, shows that the pattern had been established by then.

The text runs along the fibres. There is a sheet join c.5.5 cm from the right edge.

† βα[σειλιάς] τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) [ἡ]μῶν δεσπότη(ου) μεγίστου
εὐεργέτου Φλ(αουίου)

Τιβερίου Μ]αυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐ[τοκρά]τορος καὶ Αὐτοκρά(τορος) ἔτους ε,
ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ

εὐεβ(εστάτου) ἡ]μῶν δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους δ, Θω[θ] κζ, ἰδ(ικτίωνος) πέμπτη.
 τοῖς ὑπερφ]εστάτοις διαδ[ό]χοι[ς] τοῦ τῆς εὐκλε[ο]ῦς μνήμησ Ἀπίωνος
 5 γενομένου] πρωτοπατρικίου γ[εουχ]οῦσιν κα[ι] εἰ]ν]ταῦ[θα] τῆ] λαμ[πρῶ
 Ὀξυρυχ(ιτων) πόλ]ε[ι, διὰ] Μ[ηνα] ο]ί[κ]έτου του] ἔπε[ρ]ω[τῶν]το[ς] κ[αι]
 π]ρ[ο]ς[πο]ρ[ί]ζ(οντος)

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† χειρογραφ(ία) [

1 ευεβς, δεσπ, φλς 2 αυτοκρ^ο ὑπατιας; l. ὑπατείας 3 δεσπς, ἰδκ 7 χειρογραφ

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 5, in the consulship of our same most pious master year 4, Thoth 27, indiction fifth.

'To the most extraordinary successors of Apion of well-famed memory, former first *patricius*, land-owners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oikeites*, who puts the formal question and provides ...'

Back: 'Cheirograph ...'

3 κζ. The form of the putative zeta is anomalous, with its curved middle part linked to the top of the adjacent iota; but ζ should probably be excluded.

6 π]ρ[ο]ς[πο]ρ[ί]ζ(οντος). A very few specks remain, of uncertain distribution; I do not see what the high vertical trace at the end could be if not part of an abbreviation marker.

7 χειρογραφ(ία) indicates that this was a receipt for one or more replacement parts of an irrigator: see LXX 4783 n.

N. GONIS

5388. RECEIPT FOR A COGWHEEL AND A POTWHEEL

53 1B.26(F)/D(4)a

12.8 × 15.5 cm

6–15 November 586(?)

The upper part of a receipt for a small cogwheel and a potwheel, required as replacement parts of an irrigation machine in the estate of the heirs of Apion II. The machine, or rather the farm irrigated by it, was in the care of a *nomicarius* who was also an *overscer* (*προνοσητής*) of the estate: this is the first time we find a *προνοσητής* responsible for a *μηχανή*.

This text and 5389 stand out for the remarkable way in which the nameless heirs of Apion II are addressed: *κληρονόμοι* and *ἄνδρες*, a mode of address thought to have fallen into disuse by that time (last attested in LXX 4796 of 8.x.583), with the terms *διάδοχοι* and *ἄνδρες*, and later *διάδοχοι* and *πρόσωπα*, taking its place. All the texts addressed to *διάδοχοι*, however, are connected with the notary Parnuthius. *κληρονόμοι* and *ἄνδρες* reappear in XVI 1989 (3.xi.590) and 1990 (12.i.591), both addressed to Praciecta and Apion III and signed by

the notary Anastasius; and 5388-9 use a formula for Apion that is exclusively connected with the same notary. It would thus appear that terminology was conditioned by notarial choices. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to assume that the transition from *κληρονόμοι το διάδοχοι*, even if it was limited to a single notarial bureau, was of no relevance, even more so since Parnuthius used the rare term *πρωτοπαρτίκιος*.

A further point of interest is the nameless consular formula, its third earliest example and tenth overall: see 1-2 n.

The text is written along the fibres.

ὑπα]ρίας τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ εὐκεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους δ(?) ,

Α[θουρ] ι[], ἱ[νδ] (ικτίωνος) ε.

τοῖς ὑπερφεστάτοις κληρονόμοις τοῦ {τῆς}

ἐν εὐκλεεί τῇ μηνίμῃ Ἀπίωνος γενομένου πατρικίου

5 γεουχοῦσιν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν

πόλει, διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ

προσπορίζοντος το[ῦ] ἰδίου δεσπότης τοῖς αὐτοῖς

πανευφήμοις ἀνδράσιν τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην,

Γεώργιος νομικάριος καὶ προνοητής τοῦ ἐνδόξου

10 ἡμῶν οἴκου, υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἄνουπ γενομένου) καὶ αὐτοῦ

νομικαρίου, ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ἰδία χειρί, ἀπὸ τῆς

Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν πόλεως, χαίρειν. χρείας καὶ νῦν

γεναμένης εἰς τὴν [ῦ]π' ἐμέ γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν

καλουμένην Μέσης, διακειμένη(ν) ἐν πεδίσις

15 τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Τροῦλλου, ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς ἀρρόσιμ(ον)

γῆν μικροῦ ἐργάτου ἐνὸς κυλλῆς κυκλάδος

μῆς, ἡξίωσα τὴν ἡμῶν ὑπερφύειαν

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† χειρογραφ(ία) Γεωργίου νομικαρ(ίου) τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἰκ[ο]υ ὑποδοχ(ῆς) μικροῦ
ἐργάτου ἐνὸς κυλλῆς κυκλάδος μῆς

1 I. ἑπατεία 10, 17 ἡμῶν 10 υἱός, γενομς 11 ἰδία 15 κτημς αρροσιμς
I. ἀράσιμον 18 χειρογραφ, νομικαρ, ενδοξ

'In the consulship of our same most pious master year 4(?). Hathyr 10+, indiction 5(?).

'To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion of well-famed memory, a former *patricius*, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question

and supplies for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Georgius, nomicarius and overseer of your glorious house, son of the blessed Anup, who was a nomicarius himself too, signing below in my own hand, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greeting. Since now too a need for one small cogwheel (and) one potwheel has arisen in the estate irrigator in my charge called "Of the Middle", situated in the fields of the holding of Troil(l)us, irrigating arable land, I asked your extraordinariness ...'

Back: 'Cheirograph of Georgius, nomicarius of the glorious house, for the receipt of one small cogwheel (and) one potwheel.'

1-2 The document seems complete at the top: the upper margin is extant to a depth of 1 cm, somewhat more than the average interlinear space. The same conclusion is suggested by the position of the endorsement: there is a blank space of 1 cm between the edge and the cross; if a regnal clause were lost, it would have occupied three lines, in which case the cross would have been placed 3 cm or more from the edge, which seems less likely. Admittedly neither observation constitutes proof, but on balance the possibility that no text is missing at the top seems the likeliest.

The nameless consular formula, attested exclusively in Oxyrhynchite documents, has been discussed by J. R. Rea in LVIII 3933 2-3 n. (pp. 59-62); it 'omits the emperor's name, but implies it and provides enough information to fix the date by the numbers of the consular year and indiction, with month and day'. It is not entirely clear what underlies its use, but under Mauritius it cannot have had any political significance.

2 $\text{Α}[\theta\upsilon\rho]$ ι [], ι[νδ](ικτίωνος) ε. The indiction figure could also be read as 5, in which case the consular year would be the 5th, and the date would correspond to 7-16 November 587. Another interpretation of the writing would be $\text{Α}[\theta\upsilon\rho]$ 5ζ. ε (or 5) [ινδ(ικτίωνος)] = 13.xi.586 (or 14.xi.587).

3-4 τὰς ὑπερφυστάτους κληρονόμοι τοῦ (τῆς) ἐν εὐκλειῇ τῇ μηνίᾳ Ἀπίωνος γενομένου πατριῶν. Cf. 5389 5-6, and see above, introd. This formula is typical of documents signed by the notary Anastasius; see LXX 4792 5-6 n. (note that LXX 4796, which is broken off at the foot, was written by the same hand and on the same day as 4797).

9-10 Γεώργιος νομικάριος καὶ προνοητὴς τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου. Cf. 18. On the office of νομικάριος see LV 3788 2 n., LIX 3985 introd. (paragraph 4); Hickey, *Wine* 141-2. His responsibilities included the transport of goods for the state and the collection of taxes from the νομός, the rural hinterland of the cities. Another νομικάριος who was a προνοητὴς occurs in 54 1B.25(A)/B(10)2+(n), which is being edited by A. Benaïssa.

One other νομικάριος in the employ of the Apions occurs in the writing exercise P. Col. VIII 246.8-10, νομικαρίω | τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου Ἀπίωνος, while the close connections between the 'glorious house' and νομικάριος are also attested e.g. in I 136 and VIII 1131. The transition from the νομικάριος νομοῦ, attested in the fourth century (3788 2), to the νομικάριος τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου parallels that in evidence with liturgical officials such as the *riparii* (cf e.g. LVIII 3942 8), held by the houses of ennobled great landlords; see already R. Rémondon, *JJP* 18 (1974) 21-4.

10-11 Μινοῦ γενομένου (ἐνοῦ) καὶ αὐτοῦ νομικαρίου. A νομικάριος of this name occurs in XVI 2024 10, a text written on the back of XVI 1920, which is datable to c. 563 (see BL X 145); it is possible that the Anup of 2024 is Georgius' father. Another deceased νομικάριος who is the father of an Apionic employee is mentioned in LVIII 3942 9-10 (606).

13-14 μηχανὴν καλουμένην Μέγεγ. Not known from elsewhere.

14-15 διακειμένη(ν) ἐν πεδίοις κτλ. Descriptions of the location of μηχαναί are not common in texts of this type, since they mostly relate to *adscripticii* who looked after irrigators in the area of their place of residence; another exception is XVI 1987 17 (587), in which a resident of Oxyrhynchus states that

the irrigator in his charge is located ἐν τῷ κτήματι Παγγουλείου. The language is reminiscent of leases of μηχαναί and associated land; cf. e.g. 5380 11-12.

15 κτήμα(στος) Τροίλλου. See LXX 4801 11 n.

16 κυλλῆς κυκλάδος. See LXVIII 4697 10-11 n.

N. GONIS

5389. RECEIPT FOR A COGWHEEL

53 1B.26(F)/D(11)b

13.5 × 15.4 cm

10 March 588

The upper part of a receipt for a cogwheel issued to an *adscripticius*. This and 5390 are the only documents of 588 addressed collectively to the unnamed heirs of Apion II, who were previously last recorded in XVI 1988 of 29.xii.587. The heirs are called κληρονόμοι and ἄνδρες; cf. 5388. The use of these terms and another particular feature (see 18 n.) indicate that the text was written by a scribe who worked with the notary Anastasius.

The writing runs along the fibres. There is a sheet join very close to the right-hand edge.

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φ]λ[(αουίου) Μαυρ]ι-
 κίου Νέου Τι]βερίου μεγίστου ενεργέτου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ
 Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους ἕκτου καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἔτους
 πέμπτου, Φαμ]ενωθ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ, ἕκτης ἡδ(ικτίων)ο(ς).
 5 τοῖς ὑπερ]φυσεστατοῖς κληρονόμοις τοῦ {τῆς} ἐν εὐκλειῇ τῇ μηνίμῃ
 Ἀπίωνος] γενομένου πατρικίου γεουχ{ικ}οῦσιν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρο(τάτῃ)
 Ὁξυρυγχι]τῶν πόλει διὰ Μηῶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐφερωτω(ς) καὶ προσ-
 πορίζο]ντες τοῖς ἰδι]οῖς δεσπότησι τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανευφήμοις ἀνδράσι
 τὴν ἀγ]ωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην, (vac.) Αὐρήλιος Ἰωάννης υἱὸς Ἐνώχ μητρὸς
 10] ε ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ κτήματος Παρθενιάτος διαφέρου-
 τος τῇ ὑμ]ῶν ὑπερφυε]σί]α τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχι]του νομοῦ ἐναπ[ό]γραφος
 αὐτῆς γεωρ]γός, χαίρε[ι]ν. χρεῖας καὶ ν[ὺ]ν γενομένη[ς] εἰς τὴν
 ἡμ' ἐμέ γεου]χι]κῆ]ν μῆ]χ[αν]ῆν καλουμένην Μακρῆς Βορρινῆς
 ἀντλούσαν εἰς ἀμπελον] καὶ εἰ[ς] ἀ]ρβ[ε]μον [γ]ῆν
 15 μεγάλου ἐργάτου ἐνός, ἀ]νελθ[ώ]ν ἐπὶ τῇ[ς] π[ό]λεως
 ἡξίωσα τὴν ὑμετέραν ὑ]περφύ[ε]σι]αν διὰ τῶν ἀβ[ε]τῆ]ν
 προσηκόντων ὡστε κ]ελεῦσαι παρ[α]ρ[ε]χθῆναι μοι
 τὸν αὐτὸν μέγαν ἐργάτ]ην. κ[α]ὶ εἰ[ς] ἄ]θεως π[ρ]ό]νοιαν

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

†] χειρογραφ(ια) Ἰωάννου υἱοῦ Ἐνώχ

3 εὐσεβεστάς	4 ἐνδὸ	6 λαμπρὸ	7 ἐφερωτῆς; 1. ἐπερωτῶντος	8 ἰδιότης
9 ἰωαννης	10 1. Παρθενιάδος	19 χειρογραφ		

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, Flavius Mauricius Novus Tiberius, greatest benefactor, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year sixth, and in the consulship of the same most pious, year fifth, Phamenoth fourteenth, sixth indiction.

'To the most extraordinary heirs of Apion of well-famed memory, a former *patricius*, landowners here also in the most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned men, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Ioannes son of Enoch, mother ... originating from the holding of Partheniados, belonging to your extraordinariness, of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a registered farmer of yours, greeting. Since now too a need for one large cogwheel has arisen in the estate irrigator in my charge called "Of Northern Makre", irrigating vine land and arable land, I came up to the city and asked your extraordinariness through your subordinates to order that the same large cogwheel be provided to me. And immediately, showing regard ...'

Back: 'Cheirograph of Ioannes son of Enoch ...'

1-2 Several letter feet from the earlier part of 1 are visible but it is difficult to identify them with particular letters.

Φ)λ(αουῖου) Μαυρ)ς(κίου Νέου Τι)βερίου. This is the second earliest attestation of this form of the name in Oxyrhynchus after LXX 4795 (582); it reappears in 590, and remains the dominant form until the end of Mauricius' reign. See 4795 1-6 n.

2 A large loop at the end of the line may belong to the line above, but I do not know what it is.

3-4 For the conversion of the date (and restoration of the consular year as the fifth), see P. Oxy. LVIII p. 54 and CSBE² 153, 162.

3 ὑπατείας. Much the greater number of the Oxyrhynchite documents of the late sixth and early seventh centuries have -ι- for -ει- in this word; ὑπατείας has occurred only in LXX 4786 5 (551), XX 2283 3 (586), P. Amh. II 150.5 (ὑπατε[ίας] (592), and I 201 = SB XXII 15363.4 (593).

The omission of ἡμῶν δεσπότου after εὐσεβεστάτ(ου) is an oversight.

5-6 κληρονόμοις τοῦ {τῆς} ἐν εὐκλειῇ τῇ μνήμῃ [Ἀπίωνος] γενομένου πατριῶτος. See 5388 3-4 n.

8 ἀνδράσι is the expected term with κληρονόμοις preceding.

10 Παρθενιάδος, 1. -δος. A hamlet attested exclusively in connection with the Apions; see RSON² 253-4. It is a known viticultural site; see Hickey, *Wine* 177.

13 Μακρης Βορρινῆς. This μηχανή is new. Egyptian toponyms, like other foreign words, were occasionally accompanied by supralinear strokes, but this has the appearance of being Greek (Μάκρης?). Perhaps the overline occasionally functioned as a mere toponym marker, cf. XVI 1932 8.

15 μεγάλου is slightly preferable to μικροῦ on grounds of space. Similarly in 18, μέγας fits the lacuna better than μικρόν.

18 κ[α]ι [ε]ὐθέως προ[β]οιαν. Most other such documents have ἡ ὑμῶν/ὑμετέρα ὑπερόνια (or another abstract) after εὐθέως, but this phrase is absent also from LXX 4797 10 (583), XVI 1990 22 (591), PSI I 60.18 (595), and XVI 1991 26 (601). The first three of these texts are signed by the notary Anastasius.

N. GONIS

5390. DEED OF SURETY

55 1B.25(C)/E(2)A(1)

21 x 13.5 cm

21 October 588

This is the latest document to refer to the successors of Apion II without naming them. A former village headman stands surety for a person from an Arsinoite village, no doubt an employee of the Apion estate, and surely not an *adscripticius*; this is unparalleled among the Apionic documents.

The text is written along the fibres. On the back, written downwards, along the fibres, are remains of the endorsement. A sheet join is visible close to the right-hand edge.

]. [

Μαυρικίου Τι]βερίου [τ]ο[ῦ αἰων]ίου Ἀνγο[ύστου κ]αὶ Ἀὐτο[κράτορ]ος ἔτο[υς
 ζ, ὑπ]ατίας τ[οῦ] αὐτ[οῦ]
 εὐσεβεστ[ά]του ἡμῶν δ[ε] ἐσπότου ἔτους ζ, Φαωφί κθ, [ι]νδ[ι]κ(ιτίων)ο(ς) ἐβδόμη. †
 τοῖς ὑπερφυ]εστάτοις διαδόχοις τοῦ τῆς π[αν]ευκλεοῦς μνη(μη)ς Ἀπίων[ο]ς
 γενομένου
 5 πρωτοπατρι]κ[ε]ίου γεουχοῦςιν καὶ ἐντα[ῦθα τ]ῆ λαμπρ[ᾶ] Ὀξυρυχι[τῶ]ν πό-
 λει διὰ Μηνᾶ
 οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερω]τῶντος κ[αὶ] προσπορίζοντος τοῖς ἰδίοις δεσπόταις τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς πανευφήμ(οις)
 προσώποις τῆ]ν ἀγωγήν καὶ ἐνοχήν : Ἀυρήλιος Πανευουὶς ἀπὸ μειζόνων υἱὸς
 τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰπο]λλῶ, ἐξῆ[ε] ὑπογράφω[ν] ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ, ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ κώμης
 ε.7 τοῦ Ὀξυρ]υχίτου νομ[ο]ῦ ὑπαρχουμ(ένης) παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυεῖας
 πρωτοκωμῆ]της
 10 χαίρειν. ὁμολ]ογῶ ἐκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ καὶ [α]ῦθαιρέτῃ π[ρ]οαιρέσει ἐπωμνύμενος
 τὸν θεῖον καὶ] ζεβάςμιον ὄρκον ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχασθαι παρὰ τῆ
 ὑμετέρα ὑπ]ερφυεῖα διὰ τῶν αὐτῆ προσηκόντων Ἀυρήλιον Μηνᾶν υἱὸν
 ε.7 μη]τρὸς Σοφίας ὀρμώμενον ἀπὸ κώμης Μουχίν τοῦ Ἄρσινοίτου νομοῦ
 ὄντινα καὶ] ἐπιζητούμενον πρὸς ἐμὲ παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας [ὑ]περφυεῖας
 15 διὰ τῶν αὐτῆ] προσ]ηκῶ[ν] τ[ῶ]ν [ε]] . [

2 l. ὑπατείας
 ὑμετεραςὑπερφυεῖας
 14 [ὑ]περφυεῖας

3 [ι]νδ
 10 l. ἐπομνύμενος

6 ἰδιοις, πανευφήμη
 12 υἱόν

7 υἱός
 9 παρχουμς,
 13 l. Μουχέας, Ἄρσινοίτου

'... Mauricius Tiberius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 7, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 6, Phaophi 24, indiction seventh.

'To the most extraordinary successors of Apion of all well-famed memory, former first *parnics*, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and provides for his own masters, the same all-renowned persons, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Paneuous, former headman, son of the blessed Apollon, signing below in my own hand, originating from the village of ... of the Oxyrhynchite nome, administered by your extraordinariness, *protokometes*, greeting. I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, swearing the divine and august oath, that I guarantee and pledge to your extraordinariness through your subordinates Aurelius Menas son of ..., mother Sophia, originating from the village of Muchis of the Arsinoite nome, whom, if he is required of me by your extraordinariness through your subordinates ...'

2-3 The regnal (ζ) and consular (of ξ we have the base, a small left-facing curve: ζ would also be possible) years of Mauricius are restored on the basis of the month and the indiction figure; see the table in P. Oxy. LVIII p. 54.

2 *Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου*. For the order of the names in a contemporary document, cf. LVIII 3934 3 (14.viii.588) *Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου*.

4 $\pi[\alpha\nu]ε\kappa\lambdaεο\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$. I restored the epithet in LXX 4792 5 by reason of space; E. Bonollo (above, p. 113 n. 2) has suggested that it should also be restored in LXX 4795 8. This is now confirmed. $\pi\alpha\nu\epsilon\kappa\lambdaεο\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ was used alongside $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\lambdaεο\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ by scribes who worked with the notary Parnuthius.

7 For the dicolon cf. 5375 4 and n.

Πανεuous. The name is new, but probably a variant of *Πανευς*, *Πανευης*, etc.

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \muειζ\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$. Another former headman is the guarantor in LXX 4794 (580). For headmen in these documents, see 5373 20 n.

8 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \text{Ἀπο}]\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}$ is restored only tentatively. It is less likely that $]\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}$ is the ending of the mother's name.

9 $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\mu(έν)\eta\varsigma$. Cf. 5371 5 and n.

$\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\kappa\omega\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$. The word is misplaced; it should have appeared with $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \muειζ\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$ in 7. The combination of the two functions in one person is new, and may lend support to the view that in Oxyrhynchite documents the term $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\kappa\omega\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$ referred to members of the village elite; cf. L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden* (2017) 40 (pp. 35-53 on the function generally).

13 *Μουχιν* $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{Ἀρσινοεῖτου νομοῦ}$. The village of Muchis (TM GEO ID 1396) is well attested in the Ptolemaic period but there are very few references of late date. This is the first person under surety in Oxyrhynchite documents of this kind who is said to originate from a different nome. His place of residence is not indicated, but was presumably the same as that of his guarantor.

5391. ANNUAL ACCOUNT OF AN ESTATE OVERSEER

54 1B.25(A)/A(5)a + (4)a

16.2 × 27.6 cm, 22.5 × 26.8 cm

588
Plate XVII

The beginning of an account of receipts and expenditures compiled by a *pronoetes* and submitted to Praeicta, Apion, and Georgius; cf. 5381. The district under this *pronoetes* may have been the same as that in XIX 2243a; see below, 3-4 n. We have the greatest part of the first column; receipts from various persons are indicated as quantities of wheat, and amounts of money may also have been included in a part now lost further to the right. The account concerns indiction 6 = year 264/233 = 587/8; it must have been written after the end of the indiction, in late 588 or even early 589. See above, 5381 introd.

As with 5366, the first sheet of the roll was a *protokollon*, left blank; the account began on the second sheet, and was written along the fibres. The endorsement was written on the back of the *protokollon*, followed by two lines of an account apparently not related to the text on the front. On the back of the second sheet there is a short money account, also unrelated, and the very beginning of a receipt, the latter no doubt writing practice. There is a sheet join about halfway through the second sheet.

- †] Φλ(αουίσις) Πραυῖέκτη τῇ ὑπερφυστ(άτη) ὑπάτις(η) καὶ Ἀπίωνι καὶ
Γεωργίῳ
τοῖ]ς ὑπερφυστ(άτοις) ὑπάτοις γεουχο(ῶσι) καὶ ἐνταυθ(α) τῇ λαμπρᾷ
Ὁξυρυγγ(ιτῶν)
π[όλ(ει)]. λόγ(ος) λημμά(των) καὶ ἀναλωμά(των) γενομ(ένων) δ(ι') ἔμοῦ
(νας.) προ(νοητοῦ) Πολέμωνος καὶ
Τρι[γύ]ρου καὶ Νοτίνου καὶ Ἡρακλᾶ καὶ τῶν ἐν κώμ(η) Ταμπεμου καὶ
ἀλλ(ων) ἕξωτικ(ῶν)
5 τόπων ἐπὶ τῆς ᾧ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), (ἔτους) εξδ(καὶ) ελυ. λήμμα(τα) οὐ(τως).
π(αρά) Τεκραμπε Πακεου δ(ιὰ) Ἱερημίου υἱοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ Βίκτορος ἀπὸ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ
π(αρά) Θωμᾶ Πρανοῦτος Πεκυσίου καὶ Ἀβρααμίου καὶ Παμβηγίου Ἀφφούτος
πίτου μέτρ(ω) ρλ[
π(αρά) Ἡλίου Ἰωάννου δ(ιὰ) Φιβ Ἀφφουᾶ καὶ Ἱερημίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
πίτου μέτρ(ω) ρη [
π(αρά) Γούνθου Ἀνουθίου συμμάχ(ου) δ(ιὰ) Φιβ ἱατρ(οῦ) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
πίτου μέτρ(ω) π[
10 π(αρά) Ἰωάννου Πέτρου δ(ιὰ) Ψεεῖου Παιηου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ)
πίτου (ἀρτάβαι) λβ [

π(αρά) Παπ]νουθίου Φοιβάμμωνος δ(ιά) Ἀβραμίου ἀπό τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 πίτου (ἀρτάβαι) γ' ἰ [
 π(αρά) . . .]ου Ἄραυ ἀπό Πολέμωνος δ(ιά) Πανοῦτος ἀπό Τριγίου
 πίτου (ἀρτάβαι) λγ [
 π(αρά) Δανι]ηλίου Παύλου καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) δ(ιά) Φιβ Ψεείου ἀπό τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 πίτου (ἀρτάβαι) . . . [
 π(αρά) τῶν] αὐτῶν καὶ προκειμ(ένων) γεωργ(ῶν) (ὕπερ) ἀποτάκ(ου) χωρ(ίων)
 15 c.6 ἀ]πό Ἰσίου καὶ Ἡλίας ἀπό τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ αὐ) τοῦ κτήμα(τος)
 πίτου (ἀρτάβαι) γ' ἰ [
 c.7] νος Ἰωσήφ ἀπό Πολέμωνος πίτου (ἀρτάβη) α [
 c.7]ος καὶ Ἀνιανοῦ ἀπό το[ῦ] αὐτοῦ δ(ιά) Ἀπολλῶ πρε(εβυτέρου) (ὕπερ)
 ἰδ(ίας) γῆς
]αφ() ἐπινεμήσεως πίτου (ἀρτάβαι) β' ἰ [
] πίτου (ἀρτάβαι) β' η' [
 30] (ὕπερ) ἰδ(ίας) γῆς πίτου (ἀρτάβαι) γ [
 ἀπό τοῦ αὐτοῦ] κτήμα(τος) πίτου (ἀρτάβη) α [
] πίτου (ἀρτάβαι) γ [
] πίτου (ἀρτάβης) ἰ [
 ἀμπε]λουρ(γοῦ) ἀπό τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ] (ὕπερ) φόρ(ου) μυλαίου
 35 (ὕπερ) ἐκτάκ(των)] τρύγης (καὶ) συντελ(είας) κεφαλ(ῆς) ἀπό νο(μ.) ιθ' ἰ β'
 ἀπό Πο]λέμωνος
] ἀπό τοῦ α[ὐτοῦ]

Fr. 2

] οὔτος [
] λου πω [
] α τοῦ κ . [
] ου π [
 . . .

Back, downwards, across the fibres:

(m.2) † λόγ(ος) Κομήτου προ(νοητοῦ) Πολέμωνος ᾗ ἰδ(ικτίωνος)

Fr. 1

1] λῆπραεκτη, υπατικῆς	1, 2 υπερφουετῆς	2 γεου ^α χ ^α ς, εἰταυ ^β , λαμπροφουριγγῆς
3 λογ ^α σημ ^α ς, αναλω ^α ς γενομ ^α ς, π ^α ρ ^α 1	4 κω ^α ς, αλ ^α ξεω ^α τιμ ^α	5 εν ^α δ ^α †, 1, λη ^α μ ^α ςου-
6 and passim δ	6-9 μετρ ^α	10 αυ ^α 10ff. +
14 πρακειμ ^α γγεω ^α ρ ^α ς, αποτακ ^α τ ^α χ ^α ω ^α ρ ^α ς	15, 21 κτη ^α ς	17 π ^α ρ 17, 20 γ ^α λ ^α ς 18] αθ
24] λου ^α ρ γ ^α φο ^α ρ	25 1, κεφα ^α λ ^α ρ ^α	

Back

λογ^α, π^αρ εν^αδ

'To Flavius Præiecta, the most extraordinary consules, and Apion and Georgius, the most extraordinary consuls, landowners also here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites. Account of receipts and expenditures made through me (*usc.*) overseer of Polemonos and of Trigyou and of Notinou and of Heracla and of those in the village of Tampemou and of other outside places in the 6th indiction, year 264 and 233. Receipts as follows:

'From Tecrampe daughter of Pæceu through Ieremias son of Ioannes and Victor from the same (holding), wheat, by measure, (art.) ...

'From Thomas son of Prauus (grandson of?) Pecysius and Abraamius and Pambechis son of Ap- phus, wheat, by measure, (art.) 150(+) ...

'From Elias son of Ioannes through Phib son of Apphus and Ieremias from the same (holding), wheat, by measure, (art.) 118 ...

'From Gunthus son of Anuthius, *symmachos*, through Phib, doctor, from the same (holding), wheat, by measure, (art.) 80(+) ...

'From Ioannes son of Petrus through Psecius son of Paicu from the same (holding), wheat, art. 32½ ...

'From Papnuthius son of Pheibammon through Abraamius from the same (holding), wheat, art. 50½ ...

'From ... son of Harau from Polemonos through Paneus from Trigyou, wheat, art. 33 ...

'From Danielius son of Paulus and associates through Phib son of Psecius from the same (holding), wheat, art. ...

'From the same and aforementioned farmers for fixed rent on vineyards ...

'... from Isiu and Elias from the same holding, wheat, art. 3½ ...

'... —nus son of Ioseph from Polemonos, wheat, art. 1 ...

'... and Annius from the same (holding) through Apollon, presbyter, for private land, wheat,

art. 12 ...

'... *epinemeis*, wheat, art. 2½ ...

'... wheat, art. 2¼ ...

'... for private land, wheat, art. 3 ...

'... from the same holding, wheat, art. 1 ...

'... wheat, art. 3 ...

'... wheat, art. ½ ...

'... vinedresser, from the same (holding), for rent of a mill ...

'... for extras for vintage and poll-tax, of 19½ ½ sol.

'... from Polemonos

'... from the same ...'

Back: 'Account of Cometes, overseer of Polemonos, of the 6th indiction.'

1-2 The address is the same as in XVIII 2196 1-2; see further 5381 1-2 n.

3 ζμοῦ (*vac.*) προ(νοητοῦ). The name is given in the endorsement: Κομήτου.

3-4 Πολέμωνος ... Τρι[γυ]ῶν ... Νοτίου ... Ἰρακλά. These settlements occur together and in the same order in XIX 2243a 76ff., which must be an account of a *pronoetes* with the same area of responsibility (the reference to indiction 9 = 590/91 implies that it was written in late 591 or early 592; see further 5381 1-2 n.). *Pronoetai* of Πολέμωνος are attested in XVI 2032 40 (540/41) and 2031 15 (mid vi; cf. LXII 4397 237 n., though the reference to the *diokesis* of *comis* Phib is not posthumous).

4 κώμη(η): κωμῆ pap. We find a similar idiosyncrasy in 2243a 4-7, etc., with κωμῆς representing κώμη and κώμηε.

Ταμπεμον is mentioned with various other localities in 2243a.

6 ἀπό τοῦ αὐτοῦ. The antecedent is unclear; perhaps Πολέμωνος, as the first locality mentioned.

7 Θωμά Πρανοῦτος Πεκκειῖον. On sequences of three names, see 3804 72 n.

9 Φίβ (ιατρ(οῦ)). This is the second reference to a doctor in an Apion estate account after XVI 1912 103. Cf. also 5392.

10, 11 The sinusoids after the amounts of artabas may stand for (καὶ) rather than for ½. Only in 15 and 23 does the position of the sinusoid make it clear that the fraction is meant.

12 Ἄραυ. On this name, see M. Chauveau & H. Cuvigny, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 183; J.-L. Fournet, *BASP* 45 (2008) 50-52. P. Leid. Inst. 80 A i 5 (Oxy.; viii)]αραῦ may represent the same name.

14 For the expression, cf. 2243a 29, PSI VIII 954.29.

(ὑπέρ) ἀποτάκ(ου) χωρ(ίαν). Cf. 5381 fr. 1+2.13 and n.

15 Ἰεῖον is called a κτῆμα, which implies that it was an ἐποίκιον. Though there are several villages named Ἰεῖεῖον, no ἐποίκιον of this name is known for this period.

17 (ὑπέρ) ἰδ(ίαν) γῆς. Cf. 20. These were taxes on one's own land. See 3804 92 n.; Hickey, *Wine* 49 n. 61.

18]αφ() ἐπινεμήσεως. An obscure collocation. Perhaps διαγρ]αφ()?

24 (ὑπέρ) φόρ(ου) μυλαίου. Cf. 1912 96, 2243a 27; in both cases the rent was paid in money by γεωργοί; it is curious that this is done by an ἀμπελοργός here.

25 (ὑπέρ) ἐκτάκ(των)] τρύγης (καὶ) συντελ(είας) κεφαλ(ῆς). The συντελεῖα κεφαλῆς, exclusively attested in Oxyrhynchus and mainly in Apionic accounts, was certainly a capitation tax but little is known about its nature; cf. 3804 30 n. The ἐκτακτα τρύγης may well have been 'an umbrella term for various vineyard-related charges'; see Hickey, *Wine* 69-70 (quotation from 69 n. 49; for a somewhat different view, see 3804 96 n.). Hickey, 69, observes that most attestations 'occur at sites with *αροιστικὸν χθῶρον*'; cf. 14 above.

The two charges have not been combined elsewhere, but we find the poll-tax paid with rent for date-palms in 1911 86 and 3804 46, and with a price for tow in 2243a 26; in the last text, payments for rent of a mill (cf. 24 here) and of date-palms are mentioned in the next line. The references to poll-tax in contexts indicative of tenancy raise the question whether it was paid only by those with particular tenancy agreements.

ἀπό νο(μ.) ἰθ | ἰβ'. I cannot explain the use of the preposition, as nothing else seems to have followed in this line.

III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

Secondary texts on the back

(a) On the back of the first sheet, under the endorsement (downwards, across the fibres), two entries about supplies of what seem to be irrigation implements:

Παπνουθίου υἱοῦ Ἀπιμα ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Πινηβ εἰς χρ(εῖαν) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Τοῦ
Κτήμ(ατος) Ἄθουρ θ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πηλ() β
Πεκοῖς υἱοῦ Μαθίας ἀπὸ Ἀμβιούτος εἰς χρ(εῖαν) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Νωτωκ Ἄθουρ
ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πηλ() β

1 εποιμ, κτημ 5 1, 2 χρ, μη^χς, ἰνδ, πηλ 2 l. Μαθίου, Νότου (?)

'Of Parnuthius son of Apima from the hamlet of Pineb, for the need of the irrigator "Of the Holding", Hathyr, 9th indiction: ... 2.

'Of Pecois son of Mathias from Ambiouots, for the need of the irrigator "Of the South" (?), Hathyr, 6th indiction: ... 2.'

1 Πινηβ. Otherwise known only from LXXI 4835 8, 25 (574), spelled as Πηνηβ.

Τοῦ Κτήμ(ατος). A common name of *μηχαναί*: XVI 1899 10, 1911 164, 173, 1912 148, XIX 2244 76, LV 3804 213.

Ἄθουρ θ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος). If θ̄ is the number of the indiction and not the day, this indiction 9 will correspond to 590/91. But it would be odd to find a reference to indiction 6 in the next entry.

πηλ(): πηλ(άρια), l. *πλάρια*? In SB I 5300 = XX 14402.3, 9, 18, 21 (Ars.; v/v1), these objects relate to an irrigator; see D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil* (1993) 100. (My thanks to F. Morelli for discussion of the reading and interpretation of this word.)

2 Ἀμβιούτος. An Apionic hamlet; see *RSON*² 29–30.

Νωτωκ: for *Νότος* = *Νότου*?

(b) On the back of the second sheet, written upwards, along the fibres, there are various sums of money:

νο(μ.)] μγ d' π(αρά) c15 d' ἄλλ(α) νο(μ.) νζ ζ π(αρά) cπζ ζ ἄλλ(α) νο(μ.)
ξ π(αρά) c9α
νο(μ.) νζ d]' ιβ' π(αρά) cπς \ d' ἄλλ(α) νο(μ.) νη γ d' π(αρά) c9γ \ d' ἄλλ(α)
νο(μ.) μδ ιβ' π(αρά) cκ
νο(μ.) ια] π(αρά) νε

1 (στ), 2 (στ), 3 π 1 (βί), 2 (βί) αλδδ̄

'43¼ sol. min. 216¼; another 57½ sol. min. 287½; another 60 sol. min. 291;

'57¼ ½ sol. min. 286½ ¼; another 58½ ¼ sol. min. 293½ ¼; another 44½ sol. min. 220;

'11 sol. min. 55.'

3 νο(μ.) ια] π(αρά) νε. The restored figure is suggested by the fact that the rates of deduction are minus 5 carats in four entries and just under minus 5 in two others.

(c) Also on the back of the second sheet, running downwards, along the fibres, the beginning of a receipt, written as a scribal exercise:

Ϡ, εδοθ(η) δι(α) Φιλοξέν

εδοθ δι

'Given through Philoxen—'

N. GONIS

5392. TOP OF DOCUMENT

97/102(a)

16.1 × 4.5 cm

582-90

Plate IX

Of this document, called a 'receipt' in the endorsement, only the prescript survives. Stephanus and Georgius, chief physicians, address Praiecta, Apion (A. III), and Georgius, all three of them described as consuls and 'children and heirs' of Apion the *patricius* (A. II). This is the first text to specify the relationship of Praiecta and her sons to Apion II, though uncertainties remain. What seems beyond doubt is that Apion III and Georgius were adopted by Apion II, as hypothesized by B. Palme in an important article (*ZRG* 115 (1999) 289-322). The status of Praiecta is less clear: she may have been either the daughter (Palme, *ibid.*) or the daughter-in-law of Apion II. The former option would be the easiest, though the reasons for the adoption of the grandchildren would not be obvious; but it would have been an extraordinary measure in response to an extraordinary situation. Palme suggested that it might have been an attempt to prevent Praiecta's husband from interfering with the inheritance. We now know that Praiecta's husband was called Strategius (see 5396 and *introd.*). As the names Apion and Strategius alternate in the family, it would be natural to assume that this was Apion's son. Strategius may have predeceased his father (cf. J. Gascou, *TAMByz* 12 (1985) 69 = *Fiscalité et société* 192), which would have occasioned the adoption of the grandchildren, presumably minors at that time, as well as of Praiecta. This would be my preferred scenario, especially since a father's death would be the simplest reason for an adoption, and there is no secure evidence for this Strategius at Oxyrhynchus (see 5396 3 n.), though the picture from the Fayum is more complex and ambiguous. The alternative, which seems less likely, would be to assume that Apion II adopted his daughter-in-law and grandchildren while his son was still alive, and these inherited the bulk of the estate at Oxyrhynchus; the motives could only be guessed at. An additional complication is that Apion II may have had another son called Strategius, viz. Strategius Paneuphemos. The latter is described in the Heracleopolite CPR XXIV 25 of 598 with reference to the deceased Apion II. Their relationship was given in the part now lost, but Strategius could only have been

Apion's son or heir (for the latter, cf. R. Mazza, *Simblos* 4 (2004) 278–9; S. Urano, *Kodai* 16 (2015) 179 n. 27); otherwise, there would be no mention of Apion, who had died twenty years earlier. Strategius had the same status as Apion III (see 5398 4–5 n.), and may also have been of the same age. He may have been a son of Apion II from a second marriage (cf. J. Beaucamp, *REByz* 59 (2001) 177 n. 68), perhaps named after his prematurely deceased brother. But this is pure speculation.

What remains of the document contains no date. The presence of Georgius indicates that it is earlier than late 590, when we find only Præiecta and Apion III in the prescript of XVI 1989; Georgius is last attested in 5391, which cannot be much later than the end of 588. Apion and Georgius are styled *gloriosissimi* in 5381 of 581, but we do not know when they received the dignity of *ex consulibus* (first attested for Apion III in 5386 of 585).

5392 is of considerable palaeographical interest, as it offers one of the rare datable examples of the 'sloping pointed majuscule'. A particularly noteworthy feature is the form of kappa, with its stem clearly detached from its arms, which becomes standard in the seventh century.

The text is written across the fibres on the recto of the original roll; there is a crudely made sheet join c.3 cm from the top. The docket on the back is written near the top, in the same direction as the text on the front. The script is different from that of the main text, but it is unclear whether it is the work of a different hand.

Φλ(αουτίος) Πραιίεκτη τῆ ὑπερφυστά]τῆ ὑπατ[ί]σση καὶ Ἀπίωνι καὶ Γεωργίω [

τοῖς ὑπερφυστάτοις ὑπάτοις τε]κνοις καὶ κληρονόμοις Ἀπίωνος τοῦ [

c.20 πατρ]ικίου [C]τέφανος καὶ Γ[ε]ώργιος [

Back, along the fibres:

+ ἀπόδειξις) Cτεφάνω καὶ Γεωργί, ἀρχι(υακ.) ιατρ[ῶν

1 ὑπατ[ί]σση 4 αποδειξ I. Cτεφάνου

'To Flavius Præiecta, the most extraordinary consules, and Apion and Georgius, the most extraordinary consuls, children and heirs of Apion, the ... *patricius*, (from) Stephanus and Georgius ...'

Back: 'Receipt of Stephanus and Georgius, chief physicians ...'

2 τοῖς ὑπερφυστάτοις ὑπάτοις is restored by reason of space.

τε]κνοις καὶ κληρονόμοις. In Oxyrhynchite texts of this period, the collocation is attested with Fl. Ioannes, 'child and heir' of Fl. Euphemia, in XIX 2239 4 (598). I have not found any other instance in which adoption can be detected behind the use of these terms; they apply to full brothers e.g. in SB I 4483 (Ars.; 621).

2–3 Presumably τοῦ [τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης γενομένου πατρ]ικίου.

3 The absence of the Menas formula is noteworthy. See LXX 4786 introd. (p. 93); below, 5400 7 n.

4 ἀρχιατρ[ῶν]. The relevant literature and papyrological evidence on ἀρχίατροι is collected in CPR XXV 1.1 n., though it does not refer to ἀρχίατρος, a less common form of the same word, of which

there are only four instances in the DD&D, among them I 126 23 (572) τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας μηνῆος Ἰωάννου γενομέ(νου) ἀρχιιάτρου.

N. GONIS

5393. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE

54 1B.25(B)/C(9)a

19.3 x 22 cm

9 January 191

This is only the third known document addressed exclusively to Praciecta and Apion III, the others being XVI 1989 (3.xi.590) and 1990 (12.i.591). In the two other texts, Praciecta and Apion are called heirs of Apion II, but not here. It is interesting to find them referred to as πρόσωπα; see below, 7 n.

The *adscripticius* who features in the document comes from a settlement that is either new or given a novel name; see 9 n.

The text is written along the fibres.

† βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου
εὐεργέτο(ν)
Φλ(αουβου) Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου τ[ο]ῦ αἰωνίου Ανγούστου καὶ
Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους
ἐνάτη, ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους ἦ, Τυβί ἰδ,
ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) θ.

(vac.)

Φλαουῖοις Πραϊέκτη καὶ Ἀπίωνι τῶ αὐτῆς νιῶ τοῖς ὑπερφνεστ(άτοις)
5 ὑπάτοις γεουχοῦς[ι]ν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλει
διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τοῖς
ἰδίοις δεσπότηαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς πανευθύμοις προσώποις τῆν
ἀγωγῆν καὶ ἐνοχῆν, Αὐρήλιος Φιλίας υἱὸς Παλεῦτος μητροῦ
.. []ώης ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἀσπιδᾶ Βορρινοῦ τοῦ Ὀξυρυχι(τ)ο(ν) νομοῦ
10 διαφέροντος τῇ ὑμε]τέρᾳ ὑπερφνεῖρ ἐναπόγραφ(ος) αὐτῆς γεωργῶς
χαίρειν. χρειάς κα[]ἰ νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τῆν ὑπ' ἐμέ γεουχικῆν
μηχανῆν καλουμένην Τοῦ , υἱος ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς ἀρόσιμο[ν]
γῆν αὐξονος ἐνόσ, ἀνελ]θῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡξίωσα τῆν ὑμῶ[ν]
ὑπερφύειαν ἄστει] κελεύσαι μοι τὸν αὐτὸν αὐξονα παρασχε[θ]ῆναι.
15 καὶ εὐθέως ἡ ὑ]μῶν ὑπερφύεια πρ[ο]νοιαν ποιουμένη[ν] τῆς
ευστάσεως τῶν ἐα]υτῆς π[ρα]γμα[τ]ῶν {ἐαυτῆς πραγμάτων}
τοῦτον ἀγορασθ[έ]ντα π[α]ρ' ἐμοῦ ἢ ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ τῆν ὑπέρ α[ὐ]τῶν
τιμῆν κατελογ]εῖσατό μ[οι ἐν τ]οῖς ἐμ[ο]ῖς πιττακ[ί]οις καινῶν

ἐπιτήδειον ἀντλη)τικὸν [εὐάρε]στον ἐδεξάμην εἰς ἀ[ν]απ[λ]ή-
 20 ρωσιν πάντων τῶν μηχανικῶν δ]ργάμων ἐν τῇ σήμερον
 ἡμέρᾳ, ἣτις ἐστὶν Τυβί τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τ[ῆ]ς παρούσης
 ἐνάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος), ὑδροπαροχίας καρπῶν τ[ῆ]ς c[ὐν] Θ(εῶν) [δεκάτης
 ἐπιμετῆσεως,
 τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν αὐξονα ἐξυπη]ρετο[ύμενον τοῖς ποτισμοῖς
 ἐπὶ ἐπταέτη(?) χρόνον, τοῦ δέ] παλ[αίου] αὐξονος δοθέντος παρ' ἐμοῦ
 25 τῷ θυρουρῶ, καὶ πρὸς ἀπ]όδιξι[ν τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ αὐξονος(?)]
 ταύτην πεποιήμαι τήν] χειρ[ογραφίαν]

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

+ χειρογραφ(ία) Φιλ[έου] υἱοῦ Παλεούτος

1, 3 ευκειβς	1 ευεργετῶς	2 φλς, αυτοκρ	3 l. ἐνάτου ὑπατείας	δεσπῶ, ἰνδξ
4 φλαουοῖσπραϊεκτῆ, υἱῶ, υπερφυστς		5 ὑπατοῖς, ποξ	7 ἰδιοῖς	l. πανευφήμοις
8 υἱος	9 οξυρυχῶς	10 εναπογραφ	14 l. ἀξονα	18 l. καταλογίκατο
25 l. ἀπόδειξι	27 χειρογραφ			22 ξ[

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius Novus Tiberius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year ninth, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 8, Tybi 14, indiction 9.

'To Flavii Præiecta and Apion, her son, the most extraordinary consuls, landowners here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own masters, the same all-renowned persons, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Phileas son of Paleus, mother —oc, from the hamlet of Northern Aspida of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your extraordinariness, a registered farmer of yours, greeting. Since now too a need for one axle has arisen in the estate irrigator in my charge called "Of the ...", irrigating arable land, I came up to the city and asked your extraordinariness to order that the said axle be provided to me. And at once your extraordinariness having regard to the state of its affairs (provided) this (to me), bought by me in the fields, and put down its price to my accounts, new, serviceable, suitable for irrigation, satisfactory, (which) I received as completion of all the irrigation implements on this very day, which is the fourteenth of Tybi of the present ninth indiction, for the irrigation of the crops of the God willing tenth *epinemeis*, the same axle is to serve the purposes of irrigation for a seven(?) -year period, while the old axle was given by me to the doorkeeper. And as evidence for the receipt of the same axle I have made this cheirograph ...'

Back: 'Cheirograph of Phileas son of Paleus ...'

1-3 For the regnal formula, see *CSBE*² 260-61; cf. 5394. For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE*² 153, 160.

7 πανευφήμοις, l. -φήμοις. The same spelling also occurs in LXX 4798 3 (586) and XVI 1987 11 (587). The three texts are the work of three different scribes.

προσώμοις. Both 1989 8 and 1990 12 have ἀνδράειν. In LXX 4798 4 n., I suggested that the use of the latter term in these two texts may be 'due to the fact that Præiecta and Apion are addressed as

«*Ἀθηναίους*», a term always coupled with *ἀνδράσι*. We now know that this was a predilection of the scribes working with Anastasius, who signed 1989 and 1990; see above, 5388 introd.

9 *Ἀπειδᾶ Βορρινού*. The settlement *Ἀπειδᾶ* and its Apionic connections are well known, see *RSO* 2 48 and 5385, but *Ἀπειδᾶ Βορρινού*, which recurs in 5400 8–9 (620), is new. *Ἀπειδᾶ* was situated in the northern part of the Oxyrhynchite nome, as we may surmise from XVIII 2204, where it is included in the same *prostasia* as Spania and other hamlets. One of these hamlets, *Phna*, may be the same as *Φνα Βορρινού* in P. Sijp. 37.18 (vii/viii). It may be that *Βορρινού* merely indicated the location of the familiar *Ἀπειδᾶ* rather than a different settlement.

10 *Ὀξυρυχ(ί)ος(υ)*. The putative omicron is a tiny horizontal trace written above chi. *WBH* points out that this type of abbreviation is also attested in P. land. III 48.14 (Oxy.; 582).

12 *σητος*. The first letter may be alpha. The name is not known otherwise.

13 The supplement printed at the start looks about four letters too long; perhaps *ἐνός* dropped out after *αἰξονος*.

17 *ἀγοραθε]γρα π[αρ' ἀμο]θ̄ ἐν ἀγοραῖς*. See *ZPE* 150 (2004) 197–8. Cf. 5376 1–2 n.

18 *ἐν τοῖς ἐμ[ο]ῖς περραι[ω]σις*. See *LXX* 4800 9–10 n. When this phrase is found in receipts for replacement parts, these are always axles, bought 'in the fields'.

21–6 What survives of these lines is given by a small detached fragment; the line-breaks in the text above are not certain.

23–4 On these clauses, largely restored, see *LXX* 4788 19–21 n., 20 n.; 4788 19 too had *τὸν δε] [αὐτὸν ἀξονα* and not *τὸν δε] [ἀξονα*, as given in the ed. pr., to judge by the space. It is perfectly possible that the working life of the axle was shorter than seven years (five in XVI 1988).

24–5 The restored parts are by no means secure. For *τοῦ δε] παλαιού κτλ.*, cf. 4788 20–21. At the end of 25, *τοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰξονος* is only a stopgap; the spare part is specified in the corresponding clause in P. Mil. I 64 = SB VI 9503.13 (Oxy.; 440), but not in documents of this period.

N. GONIS

5394. RECEIPT FOR A REPLACEMENT PART OF AN IRRIGATOR

54 1B.25(B)/C(7)b + (8)a

23 × 11.6 cm

14 November 592

This document includes the earliest appearance of Apion III on his own, antedating that in XVIII 2202 of 27 March 593. His latest previous attestation is in XVI 1990 of 12 January 591, where his mother Praiecta is also present. Praiecta is last heard of as alive on 7 September 591, in the Heracleopolite P. Erl. 67, and XIX 2243a implies her presence at the head of the Oxyrhynchite estate some time after the end of indiction 9 = 590/91 (see above, 5381 1–2 n.); she was dead by 22 October 595 (5396). It is conceivable that Praiecta disappeared from documents addressed to Apion III because she died some time between late 591 and late 592. The possibility that her absence is due to Apion's attainment of the age of majority should be excluded: it was once thought that Apion III was 'still a minor' in 591 (LV 3804 introd.), but J. Urbanik, *JJP* 34 (2004) 273, points out that there is no reason to adopt this opinion, especially since Apion was married by 592.

The text is written along the fibres.

- † ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου [καὶ δε]εσπότου Ἰη[σοῦ] Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ
 Cωτηῆρος
 ἡμῶν. βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) μεγίστου
 εὐεργέτου
 Φλαουίου Μαυρικού Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ
 Αὐτ[οκ]ρά(τορος) ἔτους ιᾱ,
 ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπό(του) ἔτους ῑ, Ἄθρυ ιη̄,
 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἐνδεκάτης.
- 5 Φλαουίω Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυε[ς]τάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
 γεουχοῦντι κα[ι] ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυνχιτῶ[ν] πόλει, διὰ Μηνα
 οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ πα[ρ]ο[ς]π[ο]ρι[ζ]οντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ
 αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν [ἀ]γωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχ]ήν, Αὐρήλιος
 Ἰο[υ]στός υἱὸς Ἀμ[ο]υθίου μητρο[ς] ε.10 ὀρμῶ]μενος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου
- 10 ... λους τοῦ Ὁξυρυνχιτο[ν] νομοῦ διαφέροντος τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ὑπερφ(εείᾳ)
 ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς] γε[ωργ]οὺς χαίρειν. χρείας καὶ νῦν [γ]εναμξ[ε]ν]ης

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

+ χειρογραφή(ια) [Ἰ]ούστου [υἱοῦ] Ἀμουθίου

1 Ἰη[σοῦ], Θεῦ 2, 4 εὐσεβ[ς] 2 θεσπ[ς] 3 φλί, αὐτ[οκ]ρ[α]τῆ 4 ὑπατίας; 1. ὑπατίας
 δεσπ[ς], ἰνδ[κ] 5 φλαουίω, ὑπερφυε[ς]τάτω, ὑπατων 7 ἰδίω 9 υἱός 10 ὑμετεραῖνπερῶ
 11 χειρογραφῆ

'In the name of the Lord and Master Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius Novus Tiberius, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 11, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 10, Hathry 18, indiction eleventh.

'To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary *ex consulibus*, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), I, Aurelius Iustus son of Amuthius, mother ..., originating from the hamlet of —lous of the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to your extraordinariness, a registered farmer of yours, greeting. Since now too a need has arisen ...'

Back: 'Cheirograph of Iustus son of Amuthius ...'

1-2 For this type of Christian invocation (also used at 5400 1-3), see *CSBE*² 100, 102, 290.

2-4 For the conversion of the date, see P. Oxy. LVIII p. 54, and *CSBE*² 153, 160; for the regnal formula, see *CSBE*² 260-61.

5 τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυε[ς]τάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων. This is the standard titulature of Apion III at this time, before his rise to the patriariate; see LVIII 3939 4-5 n. XVIII 2202 (593) omits καὶ

ὑπερφουεστάτω, but this remains an aberration; the presence of the epithet in 5394 shows that it was not added later and does not represent any 'increase in dignity'.

9 Ἀμ[ο]υθίου. (I owe the reading to WBH.) The name is rare (TM NamID 16649). Ἀμούθ was read in SB XVIII 13922.2, which probably comes from Oxyrhynchus, but the writing surface after θ is lost; read Ἀμουθ|, possibly Ἀμουθίου.

10 . . . λουε. The ending suggests Ζελλουε, a settlement known exclusively from documents of this date, mostly Apionic; see *RSON*² 348. But ζεε is too short for the space and will not account for the oblique trace before λουε; possibly Ζελλουε, a spelling found in Arsinoite documents of late date, but the first lambda would be rather narrow.

N. GONIS

5395. DEED OF SURETY

76/8 (tB.25)

37.3 × 27.6 cm

592-602

A part of the consular formula is all that remains of the dating clause, but the text can be placed in the last ten years of the reign of Mauricius on the basis of the titulature of Apion III, which indicates that it predates his rise to the patriciate, effected by late 604 but probably already by mid 603 (5396 2 n.). There are 'no consularly dated papyri' from 603-4 (*CSBE*² 214), and in fact the Oxyrhynchite evidence from these two years is scant. Thus it would be sensible to consider the text not later than 602.

The guarantor is an ἀδιούτωρ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ κερνίου of the local praesidial office: this post and the πολιτικὸν κερνίον itself were not previously known, and the papyrus offers useful information concerning the structure of a government office (see further 4-5 n.). The person under surety originates from a κώμη, exceptionally not described as παραχομένη. He is, as expected, not an *adscripticius* (5373 introd.), and his status is defined by the *vicanus condicio* (cf. 5378). A further point of interest is the penalty to be forfeited if the terms of the surety are breached: three pounds of gold, the largest sum recorded in a document of this kind.

The text is well preserved except for some damage at the most exposed parts of the rolled-up package, i.e. the two extremities (top and foot of the document) and the outermost panel (line beginnings). The ends of the lines are covered by a dark substance other than ink; decipherment was facilitated by a multispectral image created by Dr J. Brusuelas.

The writing runs along the fibres. Sheet joins are visible near the centre and close to the left and right edges, the distance from the edge of one sheet to that of the next being 16.8 cm.

- 4.4 ὑπατεῖ]ας τοῦ αὐτοῦ [εὐσεβες]τ[ῆ(ατοῦ)] ἡμῶ[ν] δεσπότης ἔτους
 Φλαουίω] Ἀπώνι τῷ πανε[υφ]ήμω καὶ ὑπερφυ[εστ]άτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτ[ων]
 γεουχοῦντι [καὶ] εἰταῦθα τῇ λ[αμπρᾷ]
 Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει, διὰ Μην[ᾶ] οἰκίετος τοῦ ἐπερω[τ](ῶντος) καὶ
 προσπορίζ[ο]ντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφ[ή]-
 μω ἀνδρὶ τῆν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνο[χ]ήν, (vac.) Βίκτωρ ὁ [αἰ]δέσιμος ἀδιούτῳ τοῦ
 πολιτικοῦ σκρινίου τῆς ἐπιχωρίου
 5 πολιτικ]ῆς τάξεως, υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Γεωργίου, ἐξῆς ὑπογράφω
 ἰδία χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγγ(ιτῶν) πόλ[ι]σεως,
 ἀπ[ο]τ[ρατ]τό]μενος πάσης φόρο[υ] π[α]ραγραφῆ καὶ δικ[α]ιολογία καὶ βοθηία
 νόμων ἀρμόζοντι μοι ἢ ἀρμόξαι δυναμ[ι] (ἐνή),
 ἐ]ξαιρέ[τ]ω]ς δὲ καὶ τῇ νεαρᾷ νομοθεσίᾳ τῇ πε[ρ]ὶ τῶν ἐγγυητῶ[ν] ἐκφωνηθείσῃ,
 χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐκω[ρ]ίσ[ι]α
 γνώμη [καὶ] αὐθαρέτῳ προαιρέσει δίχα παντὸς δόλου χωρὶς ἐπομνύμενος πρὸς
 τῆς ἀγίας κα[ὶ] ζωοποιῶ
 Τριάδος καὶ πρὸς τῆς βασιλικῆς σωτηρίας ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῇ
 ὑμετέρᾳ ὑπερφυσίᾳ διὰ τῶν
 10 αὐτῇ προσκηόντων Αὐρήλιον Ἀβραάμιον υἱὸν Ἀνουθίου μητρὸς Σοφίας
 ὀρμώμενον ἀπὸ κώμης
 Ὡφσεως τοῦ Ὀξυρυγγ(ίτου) νομοῦ, ἐφ' ὅτε αὐτὸν ἀδιαλείπτως παραμεῖναι καὶ
 διάγειν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ κώμῃ
 μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ φιλάτων καὶ πάσης τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀποσκευῆς ἀποκρυνόμενον εἰς
 ἅπαντα τὰ ὄντα
 τὸ αὐτοῦ] πρόσωπον ἦτοι τὴν τοῦ κωμῆτου τύχην καὶ μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν
 ἀπολειμπάσθαι μήτε μ[ὴ]ν
 μεθίστασθαι εἰς ἕτερον τόπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιζητούμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ παρὰ
 τῆς ὑμῶν
 15 ὑπερφ[υ]σίας διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ προσκηόντων ἐν οἰαδήποτε ἡμέρα, οἰάσθηποτοῦν
 ἔνεκεν προφάσεως,
 τοῦτον παροίσω καὶ παραδώσω δίχα παντὸς τόπου προσφυγῆς καὶ λόγου ἔνθα
 αὐτὸν καὶ παρείληφα,
 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου. (vac.) εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω, ὁμολογῶ
 παρασχεῖν καὶ καταβαλεῖν

ἐπὶ τῆν ὑμῶν ὑπερφύεια(ν) διὰ τῶν αὐτῆ προσηκόντων ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ
ἀπολείψειωσ χρυσίου λίτρας
τρεις ἔργῃ καὶ δυνάμει ἀπαιτουμέ(νας) κινδύνῃ ἐμῶ καὶ {πάσης} τῆς πάσης
μου ὑποστάσεωσ. κυρία
20 ἡ ἐγγ[ύη] ἀπλῆ γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερω(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα). † (m.2) † Βίκτωρ σὺν
Θ(εῶ) ἀδιούτ(ωρ) τοῦ πολιτικοῦ κερ(ινίου) υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρ(ίου)
Γεωρ(γίου) ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἐγγηομαι καὶ ἀναδέχομαι τῶν πρωειρημένων
Ἀβραάμιον ἐπὶ
c.8] ἐ[ν τ]ῆ παρούση [ἐ]γ[γύ]ῃ ὡς πρόκειται ὑπογράφας χειρὶ ἐμοῦ
καὶ ἀπέλησα. †
(m.3)] d[i emu] e[te]f[ioi]h̄h

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

(m.12) † ἐγγύη Βίκτωρος τοῦ ἀιδεσίμου ἀδιούτορο(ς) τοῦ πολ(ιτικοῦ) κερ(ινίου)
25 ἀπὸ τῆς] Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλ(εωσ) ἀναδεχομ(ένου) Ἀβραάμιον υἱὸν Ἄνουθίου
ἀπὸ κώμ(ησ) Ὡφειω[ς

3 ἐπερω[τ]ῆ, ἴδιω	5 υἱός, ἴδια	5, 11, 25 ὀξυρυγχ	61. ἀρμολοίση	10 υἱόν
13 κωμητος: η corr. from ου	18 ὑπὲρ	19 απαιτουμέ]	20 ἐπερωμοῦ	κύναδουτ,
κερνίος, μακαρ	21 l. ἐγγνώμαι, τὸν προειρημένον	22 l. ἐμῆ, ἀπέλευα	24 εγγύση,	
αδιουτορτουπολεκρ	25 πόλ(αναδεχομ), κωμς			

'... in the consulship of our same most pious master, year n, month, day, indiction.

To Flavius Apion, the all-renowned and most extraordinary *ex consulibus*, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, *oiketes*, who puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same all-renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for the (transaction), I, Victor, the revered assistant of the civil bureau of the local civil administration office, son of Georgius of blessed memory, signing below in my own hand, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, waiving the claim of any demurrer of court and legal process and help from the laws which is appropriate or capable of being appropriate, particularly the new edict issued about guarantors, greeting, I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, without any guile, swearing by the holy life-giving Trinity and by the royal well-being, that I guarantee and pledge to your extraordinariness, through your subordinates, Aurelius Abraamius son of Anuthius, mother Sophia, originating from the village of Ophis of the Oxyrhynchite nome, on condition that he shall remain continuously and abide in his village with his dearest ones and all his things, being responsible for everything that pertains to his person, that is, the condition of the villager; and he shall by no means leave nor transfer to another place, but if he is required of me by your extraordinariness through your subordinates on whatever day for whatever reason, I shall bring him forward and deliver (him) up without recourse to any place of refuge or letter of safe-conduct in the place where I have also received him, in the prison of your glorious house. If I fail to do this, I acknowledge that I shall supply and pay three pounds of gold to your extraordinariness through your subordinates for his non-appearance, actual payment of which is to be enforced, at my own risk and that of all my belongings.

The surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I assented.' (2nd hand) 'I, the aforementioned Victor, by God assistant of the civil bureau, son of the blessed Georgius, guarantee and pledge for the aforesaid Abraamius on (the terms mentioned?) in the present surety as aforesaid, having signed in my own hand, and I delivered (the contract).'

(3rd hand) 'Completed through me ...'

Back: (?1st hand) 'Surety of Victor, the revered assistant of the civil bureau, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, pledging for Abraamius son of Anuthius from the village of Ophis.'

4-5 ὁ [αἰ]θέσιμος ἀδιούτωρ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ κερνίου τῆς ἐπιχωρίου [πολιτικῆς] τάξεως. This official is not occurred in papyri previously, but his function may be paralleled by two unpublished and no longer identifiable Vienna papyri (see *Lex. Lat. Lehnw.* I 51): Πέτρος ἀδιούτωρ κερνίων and Φλ. Ίούλιος ἀδιούτωρ κερνίων χρευσικ[. All other non-military *adiutores* found in papyri offer no information about their role. Victor the *adiutor* was a lowly assistant attached to the *scrinium* rather than the *primiscrinium*, a much more senior post (cf. B. Palme, *AnTard* 7 (1999) 109); according to the Notitia Dignitatum, Or. XLIV 10, there was only one person of the latter category in the model praesidial *officium*, and the description of Victor's post relates to only a part of it; his epithet *αιθέσιμος* (and his faulty spelling) would also be compatible with a lowly role. The *πολιτικὸν κερνίον* is also new; a *scrinium* is technically a physical space (cf. Palme, loc. cit. 100 n. 78), but here the reference is probably to the judicial branch of the *officium*, headed by the *princeps officii*. The other branch, dealing with finances, may be detected in *κερνίον χρευσικ[* in the text mentioned above (we would expect *ταμειακόν*).

[πολιτικῆς] is restored after P. Cair. Masp. I 67019.2-3 (Antin.?: 548/9) τὴν ἐπιχωρίου σεμνήν | πρῶ[ι]τι κτὴν τάξιν; but [ἡγεμονικῆς] would also fit in the space. J. Gascou, *CE* 89 (2014) 134, describes the *πολιτικὴ τάξις* as 'L' administration civile provinciale = ou l' *officium* présidial'; *πολιτικὴ* contrasts with *στρατιωτικὴ τάξις*, used for the *officium* of the *dux* (*δουκικὴ τάξις*). The praesidial *officium* of Arcadia is normally described as *ἡγεμονικὴ τάξις*. It is last certainly so called in LVIII 3934 10 (588), but the latest reference may be LVIII 3955 5 (611) | κ[α]τὰ Ἀρκαδίαν τάξεως, where we should perhaps supply [ἡγεμονικῆς]; cf. BGU III 749.1 (Ars.: Thoth, ind. 11, and the hand has a late appearance: 592/607, less likely 577; 622 should be excluded, and in 637 Arcadia is under a *dux*) κατὰ Ἀρκαδίαν ἡγεμονικῆς τάξεως, and for the word order BGU XIX 2816.2 (Herm.; v) τῆς στρατιωτικῆς [κατὰ] Θυβαλίδα τάξεως.

6 ἀπ[ο]ττ[ο]μένους πάσης φόρου | παραγραφῆς καὶ δικ[α]ιολογίας καὶ βοηθείας νόμων ἀρμόζοντι μοι ἢ ἀρμόσαι δυναμ[ι] (ἐν). The closest parallel to this clause is offered by SB VI 8988.46-9 (647) ἀποταξάμενος καὶ ἀποταττόμενος | π[ῶ]ς ἐκ νόμων βοηθεία καὶ παντὶ προνομίῳ καὶ δόγματι καὶ *privilegio* | καὶ πάσης φόρου παραγραφῆς καὶ οἰρηθῆποτε δικαιολογίας ἀρμοζούσης | αὐτῷ ἢ ἀρμόσαι δυναμομένη. ἀρμόζοντι μοι ἢ ἀρμόσαι δυναμ[ι] (ἐν). ἀρμόζοντι instead of ἀρμοζούσης may be the result of attraction to μοι σι, as WBH suggests, it may have been 'inherited from a text in which it was in agreement with προνομίῳ'. For the collocation cf. e.g. LXIII 4397 14 (545). In CPR VII 27.4, in a similar context, the plate shows that δυναμ[ι] can be read in place of δυναμομένη.

7 ἐξαιρε[τ]ως δὲ καὶ τῆς νεαρῆς νομοθεσίας τῆς περὶ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν | ἐκφανηθείσης. This clause is expressed more elaborately in I 136 = W. Chr. 383.37-9 (583), ἀποταττόμενος | τῷ προνομίῳ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν, διαφορῶντως δὲ τῆς νεαρῆς διατάξεως τῆς περὶ ἐγγυητῶν | καὶ ἀντιφανητῶν ἐκφανηθείσης (διαφορῶντως, mistranslated as 'contrary' in the ed. pr., corresponds to [ἐ]ξαιρε[τ]ως here). Shorter formulations occur in 5378 17 ἀποταττό[μ]ενοι τῷ πρ[ο]νομίῳ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν, and LVIII 3952 44 (610) ἀποταττόμενος τῆς νεαρῆς διατάξεως κτλ. The reference is apparently to *Nov. Iust.* 4 (535); see M. Amelotti, L. Migliardi Zingale, *Le costituzioni giustinianee nei papiri e nelle epigrafi* (?1985) 69, no. 23.

8 δίχα παντός δόλου χωρὶς. This redundant combination appears not to occur elsewhere.

8-9 This seems to be the earliest instance of an oath by the Trinity and the royal well-being in an Egyptian document, but such oaths occur in earlier sixth-century papyri from Petra and Nessana (then again in SB XVIII 13173 of 629). The reference to the Trinity as 'life-giving' is otherwise first attested in Hermapolite invocations of the reign of Phocas, namely in BGU XII 2207.1 (606) and XVII 2694.1 (608).

11 Ὡφείω. A well-attested village since the early Roman period; see *RSON*² 445-8. The Apions had landed interests in its area, and in XVI 1981 16-17 (612) it is described as *παρορχουμένη* (παρά τοῦ ἐνθόξ(ου) ὑμῶν οἴκου (so WBH after BL VII 143), a formulation not used here.

13 τὴν τοῦ κωμῆτου τύχην. See 5378 13 and n.

16 παροίω. For the use of the future tense, see 5375 14 and n.

17-18 παρασχέιν καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμῶν ὑπερβύεια(ν). Cf. BGU I 255.9 (Memph.; 599) ὑπεύθυνοι ἐσόμεθα παρασχέιν καὶ καταβάλλειν ἐφ' ὑμῶ(ν).

18-19 χρυσοῦ λίτρας τρεῖς. On fines mentioned in sureties, see B. Palme in *Symposium 1999* (2003) 545-51. Three pounds of gold, equivalent to 216 solidi, is the largest fine mentioned in any document of this kind. This may reflect the guarantor's financial means rather than the gravity of the (unmentioned) offence that led to the imprisonment of the person under surety. In XXIV 2420 (614), a chartrularius of the Apion estate who pledges for two persons will be charged one pound of gold, i.e., 1/2 lb. for each of them, if things go awry. We find the same amount in 5396 (595), where the guarantor is a riparius of the Heracleopolite estate of Apion III, and the fine is stated to be 1 1/2 pounds of gold for three persons. All other fines are lower: 8 solidi in I 135 (579) and P. Pintaudi 19 (v); 2 ounces of gold in XLIV 3204 (588) and its equivalent, 12 solidi, in LXIX 4757 (late vi), both sureties addressed to Fl. Anastasia; 16 solidi in 5397. In SB XVIII 14006 (635), the sum to be exacted may have been 24 solidi: in l. 27 we should perhaps restore εἰκοσι [τέσσαρα, which offers a good match for the length of the lacuna. It is remarkable that the number of solidi is generally given in multiples of four.

21-2 I have considered reading something on the lines of ἐπὶ τοῖς προαναφερομένοις (cf. 5373 23), but it is not entirely compatible with the traces.

23 The remains of εἰ[τε]ῖ[σι]ο[ν]η[σ]η are a good match for the *ductus* of this word in signatures of the notary Anastasius, attested between 579 and 595; see LXXVII 5124 30 n.

N. GONIS

5396. DEED OF SURETY

56 IB.25/66(a) + 67(a)

33.7 × 29.4 cm

22 October 595

Plate IV (l. 24)

An ἀρχιούμαχος of the 'glorious house' from Heracleopolis stands surety for three traders, one of them a priest, from a Heracleopolite village. This is one of the very few sureties of this provenance and date to have come down to us, and by far the most extensive; most other Heracleopolite sureties date from the fifth and the mid seventh centuries and later. There are several novel expressions.

The text shows beyond doubt who the parents of Apion III were: Strategius and Praeiecta, both deceased by the time when it was written; the same information is supplied by a Heracleopolite document of 607 (see below, 2-5 n.). Apion's father cannot have been the so-called Strategius Paneuphemos, as had once been suggested, since the latter was still alive in the second decade of the seventh century; cf. 5399 of 612. One possibility is that Strategius

the father of Apion III was a son of Apion II; in that case, Praciecta would not have been a daughter of Apion II; see further above, 5392 introd.

The document was written in Heracleopolis but found in Oxyrhynchus, with the other documents of the Apion estate. Another such text is XVI 1917, which relates to Heracleopolite holdings and is written in the characteristic Heracleopolite style of handwriting.¹ I am not aware of any other published text among the estate papers with the same origin.² The evidence for the Heracleopolite estate of Apion III is meagre; besides 5396 and the document mentioned in the previous paragraph, we only have SPP III².1 86 (593); cf. also P. Erl. 67 (591), which attests the *oikos* of Praciecta, Apion's mother.

The text runs along the fibres. The edge of a sheet join seems to be visible about 25.4 cm to the right of the left edge. The pattern of the damage indicates that the papyrus was thrown away rolled up.

traces of one line

Φ[α]ωφι κδ τῆς εὐτυχ[οῦ]ς τεσσαρεσκαίδ[ε]κ[ά]της ἰνδ[ικτίωνος] ἐν Ἡρ[ακλ]εύου
 πόλει. Φ)λ(αουίω) Ἀπίωνι τῷ ἐνδοξο[τά]τῳ
 καὶ [ὕ]περφυστάτῳ ὑπ[ά]ρ[τ]ῳ υἱῷ τῶν τῆς ε[.] εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης Στρατηγίου καὶ
 Πραιέκτης διὰ Ἡλεία ὑμέτερου
 οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ παρό[ν]τος καὶ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορ[ί]ζοντος τῷ Ἰδ[ί]ῳ
 δεσπότη τὰς ἀπὸ τῆςδε τῆς
 5 ἐπερωτῆσεως ἀγωγὰς τ[ε] καὶ ἐνοχὰς καὶ πᾶ[ν] δίκαιον (vac.) Πλουτίνου
 ἀρχιύμαχος τοῦ ὑμέτερου ἐνδόξου

¹ LVIII 3958 26 n. (= BL X 144) assigned 1917 to 616/17 on monetary grounds, but I agree with the statement in the ed. pr. that 'the character of the hand suggests a date fairly early in the sixth century'. This type of handwriting is extremely rare after the middle of the sixth century. Assuming that 1917 was found with the Apion estate papers, I would be inclined to identify the consul and the fifth indiction mentioned in 1-2, τοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν τοῦ ὑπερφυστάτου ὑπάτου πέμπτης ἰνδικτίωνος, with Apion II and 556/7 (the reference to a consul would also be problematic in 616/17, at a time when Apion III was a *patricius*). The possible occurrence of the secretary Pamuthius in LXII 4350 7 of 576 and 1917 120 would also point to an earlier date; cf. Hickey, *Wine* 49 n. 60.

² An Apionic text associated with Heracleopolis is I 144 (M. Chr. 343) of 580, a receipt for money paid as a tax instalment. The text would have been addressed to the heirs of Apion II (an implication of the date and the reference to τῆς ὑμέτερας | ὑπερφύσιας in 3-4) by someone who originated from or had some other association with Heracleopolis (3). This does not make the text Heracleopolite, as suggested in BL VIII 233; the tax revenues most probably came from the Oxyrhynchite estate (see most recently G. Bransbourg, *JLA* 9 (2016) 352 n. 148, 364), their destination was Alexandria, and the receipt could have been issued by a civil servant. The person who issued it was not an estate employee: he refers to the estate banker in 4-5 as τοῦ εὐδοκμοτάτου ἡμῶν | τραπεζίτου (the ed. pr. read ἡμῶν, corrected to ὑμῶν in the apparatus, but a photograph shows that the papyrus has ὑμῶν).

οἶκο[υ] υἱὸς Ἥλεία ἀφ' Ἑρακλέ[ο]υς πόλεως, γράμματα μὲν ἐπιστάμενος, μὴ
 δυνόμενος δὲ καθυπογράψ[αι]
 διὰ τὸ ἀ[ύ]τροῦ ὀφθαλμίας, ἐπέτρεψεν δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸν Χρῆστον ὑμέτερον
 ῥιπάριον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 καθυπο[ο]γράψαι, χ(αίρειν). ὁμολογῶ ἑκουσίως διὰ ταύτης μου τῆς ἐγγράφου
 ἀσφαλείας δίχα δόλου καὶ
 φόβου κ[αὶ βί]ας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἄνευ συναρπαγῆς ἐγγυᾶσθαι παρὰ
 τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυείας
 10 διὰ τῶν αὐ[τῆ] προσηκόντων καὶ ἀναδέχασθαι (vac.) Μακάριον πρεσβύτερον υἱὸν
 Παπνουθίου καὶ
 c.7] Κερεκῶνα υἱὸν Μηῆ καὶ Ἀβραάμιον υἱὸν Ἰνουπ πραγματευτὰς ἀπὸ
 κώμης ὑμετέρας
 c.7] εἰνης τοῦ Ἑρακλεοπολίτου νομοῦ, (vac.) οὐκτινας καὶ ἐπιζητούμενους
 ὀτεδήποτε παρὰ τῆς
 ὑμετέρας] ὑπερφυείας διὰ τῶν αὐτῆ προσηκόντων ἐπὶ τῷ με τούτους παραγαγεῖν
 καὶ παραδοῦναι
 ἐν τῇ δημ[ο]σίᾳ ἱρκ[τῆ] [τ] αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐνδόξῳ οἴκῳ δίχα
 οἰαςδήποτε κατοχῆς
 15 κ[αὶ] εὐρε[ς] ἰλογίας καθὼς καὶ παρεῖληφον. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω, ὁμολογῶ
 ὑπεύθυνος ἑαυτὸν
 προσκ[α]θιστᾶν τῇ τούτων παραστάει ἧγον παρασχέιν ἑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου
 προσώπου
 ἀπολείψ[ε]ως χρυσίου λίτρας τὸ ἡμισυ, (γίνονται) χρ(υσίου) λ(ίτραι) α\#, κινδύνῳ
 μου καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ὑπαρχόντων
 κ[αὶ ὑπαρξόν]τω[ν]· καὶ τοῦτο ὁμολογῶ ὁ προγεγραμμένος Πλουτίων ἀρχι-
 κύμματος ἐτοίμως
 ἔχειν σὺ]ν Θεῷ ἐμοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος καθυπογράψαι εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἐγγύην ἀκωλύτως.
 20 ἢ ἐγγύη κ]υρία καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐπερ(ωτη)θ(εῖς) ὠμολόγησα). (m.2) †
 Πλουτίνος ἀρχικύματος τοῦ
 ὑμετέρο]υ ἐνδόξου οἴκου υἱὸς Ἥλία ὁ προγεγραμμένος πεποίημα ταύτην τὴν
 ἐγγύην] καὶ συμφωνεῖ μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκειται. ἐγὼ Χρῆστος ῥιπάριος τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 ἐνδόξου οἴκου ἐγ[ρα]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν ὀφθαλμοῦντα ἐπιτραπεῖς παρ'
 αὐτοῦ. †

(vac.)

(m.3)

† di em[u]]...[]...[

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

25 (m.1) + ἐγγύη γ]εναμ(ε)νη ὑπ(ὸ) Πλουτίνου ἀρχισυμμάχ(ου) υἱοῦ Ἡλία [ἀ]φ' Ἡρακλέ(ου) π[ό]λ(αεω) ἐγγυ[ω]μέ(νου) Μακάριον (καὶ) c.7(?)
(καὶ) Κερεκῶνα (καὶ) Ἀβραάμιον πραγμ[α]τευτ(ὰς) ἀπὸ [c.7] ἐνηγ

2 ενδ., [φ]λ3	3 ὑπ[α]τ]ω υἱω, πραιεκτης, ὑμετεροῦ	3, 6 l. Ἡλία	4 ιδ[ι]ω
6 δούμοινοσ. καθύπογραψ[αι]	7 τὰ: see comm.	8 χχ, εγ'γραφοῦ	10 μακαριοῦ πρεσβυτεροῦ υἱοῦ
12 οὐκτινας	13 ὑπερφύσειας	14 ἱρκ[τ]ῆ; l. εἰρκτῆ	15 l. ἐμαυτόν
19 εγγύνην	20 ἐπεβ[ω]μολογῆ	21 υἱοσ	23 ὑπερ
αρχισυμμαχῆσ, ηρακλ	26 l (δὲ), πραγμ[α]τευτ'	l. ὀφθαλμίωντα	25 β,

*... Phaophi 24 of the auspicious fourteenth indiction, at Heracleopolis. To Flavius Apion, the most glorious and most extraordinary consul, son of Strategius and Praeicta of well-famed memory, through Elias, your *oiketes*, who is also present and puts the formal question and supplies for his own master the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction) arising from this question, as well as all rights, Plutinus, chief *symmachos* of your glorious house, son of Elias, from Heracleopolis, knowing letters but not able to sign because of his eye affliction, but he entrusted his brother Chrestus, your *riparius*, to sign on his behalf, greeting. I voluntarily acknowledge through this written bond of mine, without guile and fear and violence and deception and force and without plundering, that I guarantee for your extraordinariness through your subordinates and receive Macarius, presbyter, son of Parnuthius and ... Kerekon son of Menas and Abraamius son of Anup, traders from your village of ... —eine of the Heracleopolite nome, whom, whenever they are sought by your extraordinariness through your subordinates—on condition that I produce and deliver them in the public prison of this city or in your glorious house, without any lien and prevarication whatsoever, just as I have received (them). If I do not do this, I acknowledge that I am responsible for applying myself to their delivery, or for providing you for the non-appearance of each person with half a pound of gold, total 1½ lb. of gold, at my own risk and that of my present and future belongings. And I, the aforewritten Plutinus, chief *symmachos*, agree that I will be ready, when, God willing, I am healthy, to sign this on such a surety unimpededly. The surety is binding and having being questioned on all these (terms) I assented.' (2nd hand) 'I, Plutinus, chief *symmachos* of your glorious house, son of Elias, the aforewritten (person), have made this surety and everything satisfies me as aforesaid. I, Chrestus, *riparius* of the same glorious house, wrote on his behalf because he has an eye affliction, having been entrusted by him.'

(3rd hand) 'Through me. ...'

Back: (1st hand) 'Surety made by Plutinus, chief *symmachos*, son of Elias, from Heracleopolis, guaranteeing Macarius and ... and Kerekon and Abraamius, traders from ... —eine.'

1 I have not been able to match the traces with what is expected at this point, a postconsular formula of Mauricius.

2 This fourteenth indiction corresponds to 595/6; a date in the next indiction cycle is impossible, since Apion III was a *patricius* by 27.xii.604–25.i.605 (LVIII 3941), whereas he is only described as a consul here. Apion is styled *patricius* also in the Heracleopolite document of 607 cited below, 2–5 n.

Apion may well have been a *patricius* by early 603. Greg. *Epist.* 13.35, dated June 603, is addressed *Eusebiae patriciae*, Apion's wife (PLRE IIIA 467, Eusebia 2); a *patricia* would strictly be the wife of a *patricius*. Gregory appears to have written in reply to a letter of Eusebia, who would have informed him on recent news, and perhaps even called herself a *patricia*; it is interesting that in June 603 Gregory also wrote

to Phocas to wish him well and advise him on his new function (*Epist.* 13.34). As late as 25 December 602, Oxyrhynchite scribes were aware neither of Apion's patriciate (PSI III 179; for the date, see LVIII 3993 2-3 n., item 10 = BL X 236) nor of Phocas' assumption of power in late November 602. Unless Gregory's use of the term *patricia* is non-technical and reflects Eusebia's origins (he repeatedly addressed her mother Rusticiana as a *patricia*), it is reasonable to assume that the patriciate was conferred on Apion soon after Phocas established his rule—no doubt a political move on the part of the new emperor.

2-5 The arrangement is similar to CPR XXIV 25.5-9 (598) πρώτης ἰνδικτι(ῖ)ωνος ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλει. Φλαουίω Στρατηγίω τῷ | [πανευφήμῳ ὑπάτῳ 27 τοῦ ἐν εὐ]κλεεῖ [τῆ] μνήμῃ Ἀπίωνος | [γενομένου πατρικίου διὰ 25 τοῦ ὑ]μετέρου [ὑ] μειζότερου τοῦ καὶ | | 210 τοῦ ἐπερωτώτος καὶ προ]ρο[ορι]ζ[αντος τῷ ἰδίῳ [δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρ]ῖ [τῆ]ν ἀγωγὴν τε καὶ ἐνοχί[α] | |. In 8, restore παρόντος καὶ ἐπερωτώτος κτλ., and perhaps καὶ πᾶν δίκαιον at the beginning of 10. Cf. also the unpublished P. Ashm. inv. 24.3-4 (Heracl.; 485 or 500) δι' Ἰωάννου οἰκέτου ὑμετέρου τῆρ | [|] ἐνοχὴν καὶ πᾶν δίκαιον.

For the address to Apion, cf. P. Vindob. G 13381+22003.7-9 (10.iv.607) Φλαουίω Ἀπίωνι τῷ ὑπερφουεστάτῳ καὶ | [θ]εοφυλάκτῳ πατρικίῳ νιῷ καὶ κληρονόμῳ τῶν τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης | [C]τρατηγίου καὶ Πραυδέκτης (the text is cited after a draft edition kindly provided by B. Palme).

3 τῆς ε[.] εὐκλεοῦς: perhaps {ε[ν]} εὐκλεοῦς, the intrusive ἐν being due to the influence of the expression ἐν εὐκλεεῖ τῆ μνήμῃ, commonly used for Apion II; cf. CPR XXIV 25.6 (cited above, 2-5 n.), and 5388 4 and 5389 5 in this volume.

Στρατηγίου. As mentioned in 5392 introd., I think it likely that this was a son of Apion II rather than a son-in-law. Mazza, *L'Archivio degli Apioni* 68-72, collects the evidence connected with 'Strategius III', Apion's putative son; if we remove the Arsinoite references, the only Oxyrhynchite document that may attest him is XVI 1829. Two others have often been associated with him, but they certainly refer to different Strategii. First, I 130, a petition to Apion, *patricius* and *dux* of the Thebaid, which mentions Apion's son Strategius, was long thought to refer to Apion II (*PLRE* IIIA 97-8, Apion 3; P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (2006) 18) and date from 548/9, but the identification has been conclusively refuted; see B. Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 294 n. 14. The other text is XVIII 2195, estate accounts for a 10th indiction, which surely corresponds to 576/7; when it was published, Apion II was known to have died between 577 and 579, and the references to μεγαλο(σπρεπεστάτου) κυροῦ Στρατηγίου in ll. 108 and 122 (the ed. pr. prints μεγαλό(ου) and μεγάλο(ου), but in both places the papyrus has μεγα) were taken to be to Apion's son. J. R. Rea, *P. Oxy.* LV p. 97, has shown that these are historic, not contemporary references; for the fossilization of such entries, see Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 296 n. 18; also Mazza, *L'Archivio* 71, who rightly suspects that this is Strategius II, the father of Apion II. The use of the epithet μεγαλοσπρεπεστάτος, appropriate only for *praesides Arcadiae* and *spectabiles comites* after the mid sixth century, also indicates the age of these expressions. The same considerations apply to XIX 2243a 84 (591/2; see above, 5381 1-2 n.) ἐκ κ[ε]λε[υ]σ[ε]ως τοῦ μεγαλο(σπρεπεστάτου) κυροῦ (μεγάλο(ου) κυροῦ) ed. pr.).

4-5 τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπερωτήσεως ἀγωγὴν τε καὶ ἐνοχίαν in LXIII 4390 5 (469) and LXXVI 5327 5-6 (480).

6 γράμματα ... ἐπιστάμενος. In this period, this collocation is otherwise known exclusively from documents from Upper Egypt: P. Herm. 24.8 (Herm.; 1v/v ed. pr.; vi/vii after BL V 45), BGU IV 1020.18-19 (Herm.; vi/vii), P. Lond. I 77.81 (Hermonth.; c.610), P. Apoll. 57.11 and 58.3 (vii). But cf. the earlier XII 1473 21, 24 (201), I 56 = M. Chr. 320.12-13 (203), XII 1467 9-10 (263).

δυνόμενος. For this form, see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 384-5.

7 διὰ τὸ α[ὐ]τοῦ ὀφθαλμίας. The grammar is faulty, but there is probably little point in regularizing it into διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν ὀφθαλμίων or διὰ τῆν/τὰς αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμίων/-ac. Compare 23 διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν

ὀφθαλμοῦντα, no doubt in a periphrastic construction with εἶναι omitted (I owe the observation to W/BH); cf. the ellipse of εἶναι in 15, ὁμολογῶ ὑπεύθυνος.

7–8 ἐπέτρεψεν ... ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καθυπογράψαι. Cf. 23, and SPP XX 227.8 (Heracl.; vii) [ἡ]της Βίκτορα ... ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καθυπογράψαι.

7 Χρήστον ὑμέτερον ῥιπάριον. This person may have occurred in the Heracleopolite SPP III².1 86.2 ρ. [.]του τοῦ αἰδεσίμου ῥιπαρι(οῦ) τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου Ἀπίωνος τοῦ πανευφήμου ὑπάτου. To judge from the published photograph and the online image, the traces of the letter before ρ (ρ is secure; no dot needed) are certainly compatible with Χ, but then ς[ε] is not an ideal match for the trace and space; still, Χρῆ[ε]του should be considered. If the identification is correct, it would provide a further reason for dating the text to 26 August 593 (the alternative would be to identify Apion with Apion II and date the text to 563, before he became a *patricius*). For another riparius in similar employment at Heracleopolis, see P. Erl. 67.24–5 (591) Γεώργιος εὐν θεῶ ῥιπάριος τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου Πραιρέκτης | τῆς ὑπερφυστάτης ὑπατίστρης (see BL VIII 120).

8–9 δίχα δόλου καὶ ... συναρπαγῆς. On these clauses, see CPR XXIII pp. 248–57. The term *συναρπαγή* is found almost exclusively in documents from the Thebaid, the only other exception being the Cynopolite T. Varie 15A.5.

9 παρά τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυσίας. As shown in P. Turner 54.2–3 n., the genitive in this construction is a mistake for the dative, and occurs in very few sureties.

10 *πρεβύτερον*. This is the first time a clergyman appears among persons under surety, though he also has a secular profession, being most probably an estate employee (see below, 11 n., on *πραγματευταί*). There are several examples of priests attested in the employ of estates; see G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amsträger im spätantiken Ägypten* (2002) 242–5.

11 Κερεκῶς. Cf. the endorsement (26), where the name is read without difficulty. This may be a by-form of the name *Κυριακός*, occasionally found as *Κερεκός*. It is unclear what was lost in the lacuna at the beginning of the line. καί, which precedes the name in the endorsement, will not fill the space. One might wonder whether καὶ *Αὐρηλίου* (abbreviated) was written; Macarius, a priest, would not be an Aurelius but the other two would; yet the guarantor and his brother are not called Aurelii.

πραγματευταί. Cf. CPR X 121.4 (Heracl.; 543) *πραγματευτῆ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήματος*; the holding would have been a dependency of the 'glorious house' (see 6). There are several *πραγματευταί* attested in connection with the Oxyrhynchite estate of the Apions; see LV 3805 121 n., and LXX 4794 12 n. Their function is unclear, but their status would have been a lowly one (an *ἐναπόγραφος π.* in 4794 12).

ἀπό κώμης ὑμετέρας. The use of *ὑμετέρας* is noteworthy and not paralleled (for the dubious case of P. Ross. Georg. III 32.6, see P. Gen. IV 188.9–10 n., where such expressions are discussed).

12]εινης. Cf. 25. We may think of the villages described as *Βορρινή* or *Νοτινή*, but we would have to assume an itacism. Κ[α]ινης should be excluded: it cannot be read on the docket, and it would be hard to fill the lacuna at the beginning of the line.

ὀτεθήποτε. Cf. XIX 2238 13–14 (551), LVI 3867 11 (vii), P. Köln VII 319.6 (late vii).

12–13 οὐδενίαις ... ἐπὶ τῷ με τούτους παραγαγῆν καὶ παραδοῦναι. Instead of writing the verb that would govern οὐδενίαις, the scribe began a new construction (anacoluthon), though a formulaic one in documents of this kind. Cf. 5377 2–4 and 4 n.

13 παραγαγῆν. For the use of the verb in this context, see CPR XXI 4.14–16 n.

14 ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ ἰρκ[τῆ] [τ]αύτης τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐνδόξῳ οἴκῳ. This formulation is unique. One implication is that, unlike at Oxyrhynchus, there was no prison of the 'glorious house' at Heracleopolis. For the *δημοσία εἰρκτή*, see CPR XXIV 24.12 n.

15 καθώς καὶ παρεῖληφον. A common expression in land leases but not in sureties, which normally have ἐνόθα at this point. On the form παρεῖληφον, see CPR XXII 4.18–19 n.

15–16 ὁμολογῶ ὑπεύθυνος ἑαυτὸν προσκα[α]θιστᾶν τῇ τούτων παρατάξει. A novel expression; cf. BGU III 936.12 (Heracl.; 426) ὑπεύθυνος ἔσομαι τῆς αὐτοῦ παρατάξεως.

16 προσκα[α]θιστᾶν. προσκαθιστᾶω is a late form of προσκαθίστημι; see the entries in LSJ Rev. Suppl. ('supply besides') and LBG ('dazu einsetzen'). There is no parallel for the use of this rare verb in this context.

16–17 παραρκεῖν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου προσώπου ἀπολεψ[ε]με χρυσοῦ λίτρας τὸ ἥμισυ. Half a pound of gold, i.e., 36 solidi, is a large fine, but not the largest attested in sureties; see 5395 18–19 n.

18 Πλουτίων. Contrast Πλουτίνος in 5 and 20.

19 ἐμοῦ ὑγιαινόντος. For this irregular use of the genitive absolute, see Mandilaras, *Verb* §5909–10.

24 I have not been able to match the remains with the signature of any known notary. There are four fragments; two of them join to form the beginning of the signature, one preserves part of the notary's name (no letter can be identified with certainty), and another comes from close to the end of the signature; it is unclear whether the writing in this fourth fragment is Latin or Greek. Heracleopolite signatures of this date can be in Latin script followed by Greek; cf. e.g. in SB VI 9153 of 596 (with BL VIII 341). The penultimate letter may be ε or ε, with the top in a separate piece; but there are no secure parallels for versions of *eteliothel*/ἐτελειώθη among Heracleopolite documents of this date.

25–6 The structure of the endorsement finds parallels in the two Heracleopolite sureties whose dockets are preserved, viz. CPR XXII 4 and SB XVI 12717, both from the time around 690. I have restored ἐγγυ[ω]με(νου) in accordance with the grammar, though SB 12717.30 has ἐγγουμε(νου) and CPR XXII 4.30 apparently ἐγγουμε(νου). (Note that the participle is not preceded by the article in either of these texts: in SB 12717.30 read *στιππουργοῦ* instead of *στιππουργουῦ* ταῦ, and in CPR XXI 4.30 τ[οῦ] does not seem to be there.) The docket will have continued with a reference to Apion, e.g. [εἰς Ἀπίωνα τὸν ὑπερφύεστατον ὑπατον].

N. GONIS

5397. DEED OF SURETY

54 1B.25(B)/D(4)a

20.1 × 19.1 cm

Sixth/seventh century

Plate VIII (ll. 13–16)

This is an unusual document: the person under surety is a cook of 'the glorious house', no doubt of the Apion family, and his duties upon release from prison are not even hinted at. The guarantor is an ἀρχικύμαχος in the service of the household of one παιεύφημος, either Strategius Paneuphemos or Apion III (see below, 17 n.). The dating clause and prescript are lost, but the presence of the notary Papnuthius places the document in the later sixth century or at the beginning of the seventh; the surety would have been addressed to Apion III or the heirs of Apion II.

A sheet join runs about 9 cm from the right edge. The text is written across the fibres on the left-hand sheet, and along the fibres on the right-hand sheet. The left-hand sheet must have been part of the first sheet of the original roll (*protokollon*); cf. LVIII 3946.

- ... |
 ἔγγ[υαθεθ]αἰ [κα]ἰ [ἀναδέχεςθαι παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφ(υεῖα)
 διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ προσηκ[όντων] Ἀναστ[άσιον] τὸν καὶ Κατους
 μάγειρον τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου ἐκ μητρὸς Μα[ύ]ρας
 5 ζητούμενον πρὸς ἐμὲ παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυεῖας διὰ τῶν
 αὐτῇ προσηκόντων ἐν οἰαδῆποτε ἡμέρᾳ, οἰασθηποτοῦν
 ἔνεκεν προφάσεως, τοῦτον παραφέρω καὶ παραδώσω
 δίχα προσφυγῆς τινος ἐνθα αὐτὸν καὶ παρείληφα, ἐν τῇ
 φυλακῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου. εἰ δέ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω,
 10 ὁμολογῶ ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀπολείψεως
 αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦ νομισμ(άτια) δεκαεξ ἔργω καὶ δυνάμει ἀπαιτούμ(ενα) κινδ(ύνω)
 τῶν ἐμοὶ ὑπαρχόντων. κυρ(ία) ἢ ἐγγυή ἀπλή γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)
 ὠμολ(όγησα).
 (m.2) Ἰωάννης ἀρχισύμμαχος υἱὸς Παμουθίου ὁ προγεγραμμένος
 πεποιήμαι το[ῦ]τ[ο] τὸ ἐγγυητικὸν ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Παπουθῖος ἔγραφα
 15 (ὑπὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγρ(αμμάτου) ὄντος.
 ✠ di emi Parnuthiu et(ei)oihē

Back, downwards, across the fibres:

† ἐγγ(υή) Ἰωάννου τοῦ] καὶ Λακαν ἀρχισυμμάχου τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πανευφήμου
 6-9 ἀνα]δεχομ(ένου) Ἀναστάσιον τὸν καὶ Κατους μάγειρ(ον) τ[οῦ]
 ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκ(ου)†

4 (= 18) 1. μάγειρον 4, 5, 9 ὑμῶν 5 ὑπερφυεῖας 10 ὑπευθυνος, ὑπερ
 11 νομισμ, ἀπαιτούμκινδ 12 ὑπαρχόντωνκυρ, γραφ, ἐπερμωμ 13 ὕιος 14 προσ
 15 γ, αγρ 18 ἀνα]δεχομ, μαγισ, ενδοξ

'... guarantee and pledge to your extraordinariness, through your subordinates. Anastasius alias Catus, a cook of your glorious house, mother Maura; and if he is sought from me by your extraordinariness through your subordinates on any day, for any reason whatsoever, I shall bring him forward and deliver him up, without (recourse to) any refuge, in the place where I have also received him, in the prison of your glorious house. Or if I fail to do this, I acknowledge that I am accountable and that I shall pay for his non-appearance sixteen solidi of gold, actual payment of which is to be enforced, at the risk of my belongings. The surety, written in a single copy, is binding, and in reply to the formal question I assented.' (2nd hand) 'I, Ioannes, chief *symmachos*, son of Pamuthius, the aforewritten, have made this surety as aforesaid. I, Parnuthius, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.'

'Completed through me, Parnuthius.'

Back: 'Surety of Ioannes alias Lacan, chief *symmachos* of the house of the all-renowned ..., pledging for Anastasius alias Catus, a cook of the glorious house.'

4 μάγειρον. On estate cooks and kitchens, see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931) 83.

5 ζητούμενον. The compound (ἐπιζ.) is far more common; see P. Pintaudi 19.18 n.

8 δίδυα προσφυγής τινοσ. See 5382 18 n.

11 On financial penalties in these documents, see 5395 18-19 n.

13 Ἰωάννης ἀρχεῦμμαχος. Another ἀρχεῦμμαχος is the guarantor in XVIII 2203. The subscription of that document was only partly transcribed (7-8): Θεόδωρος ἀρχεῦμμαχος υἱὸς Σερήνου ὁ προ[γ]γ[γ]ραμμένους it continues, [πεποιήμαι] ταύτην τῆ[ν] ἐγγύη[ν] κατὰ τὴν ἀνωτέρω ἀθήρησιν | [ὡ]ς πρὸς(είται).

14 τὸ ἐγγητικόν, sc. γραμμάτιον; cf. ChLA XLIII 1247.11 ἐγγητικὸν γραμμάτιον. The expression is novel; it is also remarkable in that it does not occur in any of the many other sureties in which Papnuthius signs on behalf of illiterates.

16 Papnuthius is attested between 570/71 and 610 (cf. above, 5367 8 n.; see further LXVI 4535 39 n. and LXX 4794 24 n.). Most of his attestations come from the 580s and 590s. Cf. 5382 24.

17 Λακαν. The name was previously attested in this form only in P. Vind. Tand. 16.13-15, 37 (Heracl.; v/vi); cf. also P. Tebr. II 401.18 (Ars.; 1) Λακάνας; P. Lips. I 97 vi 5 (Hermonth.; 338) Λακαγι. τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πανευφήμου | [] contrasts with τ[οῦ] ἐνδόξ[ου] οἴκ[ου] at the end of the endorsement. On the face of it, these should be two different οἴκοι. The 'glorious house' is that of the Apionas; the other would be that of some other high-ranking person, such as the so-called Strategius Paneuphemos (cf. 5398-9) so that we could have Στρατηγίου, πατρικίου, or ὑπάτου in the lacuna at the start of 18. But it is also possible that the same οἶκος is meant.

XVI 1897 1 τῷ ἐνδόξου οἴκου τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου refers to the Apion estate, as implied by the references to holdings at Pakercic and Pompano; the reference to an *antigrouchos* suggests that the *patricius* is Apion III rather than Apion II, and the assigned date, 'sixth/seventh century', should be narrowed to 604-20. LVIII 3954 9-11 (611) τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου | τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου | Ἀπίωνος refers to Apion III; sim. 3957 8 (611 or 612). From outside Oxyrhynchus in this period, we have SPP III². 86.2 (Heracl.; 593) τοῦ ἐνδόξ[ου] οἴκου Ἀπίωνος τοῦ πανευφήμου ὑπάτου; CPR XXIV 26.4-5 (Ars.; 602-3) τῷ ἐνδόξου οἴκου Στρατηγίου τοῦ πανευφήμου | [ὑπάτου]; P. Eel. 73.10-12 (Heracl.; 604) τοῦ ἐνδόξ[ου] | οἴκου Στρατηγίου τοῦ πανευφήμου | πατρικίου; SPP XX 278.6 (Ars.; vi/vii) τοῦ οἴκ[ου] τοῦ [πα]νευφήμου πατρικ[ίου] (of Strategius Paneuphemos; if so, the date would be early vii).

5398. RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT OF SALARY

65 6B.38/B(4-6)b

7 x 34 cm

1 September 598

Plate XV

This text and 5399 expand the small Oxyrhynchite dossier of the magnate commonly called 'Strategius Pancuphemos', assembled by B. Palme, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 95-125; SB XXVIII 16873 (Ars.: 592),¹ CPR XXIV 25 (Heracl.: 598), P. Eirene IV 40 (Ars.: 615), and P. Vindob. G 26585, ed. G. A. J. C. van Loon, *BASP* 54 (2017) 127-42 (Ars.: 616), are later additions, whereas P. Vindob. G 25886 = SB XXIV 16222 has been shown by F. Morelli, *Tyche* 23 (2008) 139-57, not to belong. The other Oxyrhynchite documents in the dossier are LVIII 3935 (591), 3936 (598), SB XXII 15487 (598), LXVI 4535 (600), and XVI 1991 (601). As its inventory number indicates, 3936 = 65 6B.38/C(9-10)a, another salary receipt, was found in close proximity to 5398.

The text is a receipt for salary paid to a stableman; for the transaction, cf. SPP III².1 96.4 (Ars.: 640/655). The arrangement is unusual: the stableman is represented by a senior administrator of Strategius, the well-known *comes* Apollos (see 5-7 n.), and is paid by the wife of a deceased *pronoetes* of the estate, who presumably assumed her husband's role upon his death.

Oxyrhynchite receipts for salary of this date are commonly notarial documents in the form of a subjective homology; cf. LVII 3914 (519), XXXVI 2780 (553), XVI 1992 (572), and LVIII 3936, mentioned above; only XVI 2006 (v1) is comparable to 5398. For the format cf. also the fragmentary PSI III 223 (Oxy.: 579).

The text is written along the fibres and the back is blank. A sheet join runs c.2.5 cm from the right edge.

† ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης
 σταβλίτης τῆς
 μικρᾶς οὐσίας
 Στρατηγίου τοῦ πανευφ(ήμου)
 5 ὑπάτου, διὰ Ἀπολλῶ
 τοῦ περιβλέπτου
 κόμετος διοικητοῦ
 αὐτοῦ, ἔς [χρον] καὶ ἐπληρω(ώθη)
 παρὰ [τῆ γ]αμετῆ τοῦ

¹ Previously cited as P. Berol. 25628, ed. A. Syrkou, *APF* 49 (2003) 54-6. The date given in *CSBE*² 263, viz. 'xi-xii.592', goes back to a correction communicated by me to the authors at the final stage of the revisions of the book: after the year figure (3), the papyrus has Χοι[ακ], which corresponds to 27.xi.-26.xii.592. The ed. pr. dubiously placed it in the Fayum; this is guaranteed by the use of the term *χρυσίου* in 7 and the rate of deduction, minus 7/8 car., typical for this area at this date (see *ZPE* 154 (2005) 205 n. 1).

- 10 μακαρίου Παμο[υθ]ίου
γεν[ο]μένου προνοητοῦ τῆς
αὐ]τῆς [ο]ὔσιας τὸν
ἐ]ξ ἔθους δ[ι]δόμενόν
μοι ὀψών[ου] εἰς τὴν
15 χρεῖαν [τ]οῦ [αὐ]τοῦ σταβλ(ίτου)
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς παρούς(ης)
δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) τὰ
αἰρούντα [α]ὐτῇ
πλήρες, τουτέστιν
20 σίτου ἀρτάβας
δεκαεξ, γί(νονται) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) 15.
καὶ πρό[ς] ὕμετέραν
ἀσφάλ[ει]αν ταύτη[ν]
πεποιήμαι τὴν
25 πληρωτικὴν
ἀπόδειξιν, ἥτις
ἐ[γρά]φη ἐπὶ μηνὸς
Θωθ τετά(ρ)τη, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
δευτέρας, + ἔτους
30 σοε εμδ. /
† δι' ἐμοῦ Γεωργίου
συμβολ(αιογράφου) ἔγραψα.

1 ἰωαννης	4 πανουφ	8 επληρ	9 l. της γαμετης	11 ηρ	12 l. το
15 σταβλ	16 παρουςγ	17, 28 ινδλ	19 l. πληρης	21 ηρ	22 ημετερας
26 ητις: η ex corr.	32 συμβολ	l. εγραφη			

'I, Ioannes, stableman of the small estate of Strategius, the all-renowned consul, through Apollon, the *spectabilis comes*, his administrator, (I) received and was paid by the wife of the blessed Pamuthius, former overseer of the same estate, the salary given to me by custom, for the need of the same stableman, and for the present second indiction, what falls due on it in full, that is, sixteen artabas of wheat, total 16 art. of wheat. And for your security I have made this receipt of payment, which was written in the month of Thoth, (day) fourth, indiction second, year 275/244.'

'Through me, Georgius, contract-writer—I wrote.'

2 σταβλίτης. On this occupation, see P. Heid. V pp. 45–8. To judge from his salary, 16 artabas, Ioannes will have been a stableman of lowly status; compare the camel-drivers (καμηλάριοι) in XVI 1911 156 (557) and LV 3804 238 (566), who receive a yearly salary of 16 artabas (and 1½ sol.) each.

We do not find the description 'of such-and-such's estate' elsewhere applied to a stableman; but cf. P. Heid. V 349, a work contract between a stableman and possibly an Apionic administrator (cf. LXXII 4930 4 n.).

2-3 της μικρᾶς οὐκίας. What this 'small estate' was, we cannot tell. We find references to a μεγάλη οὐκία in several Apionic accounts, e.g. XVI 1911 121. A μικρᾶ οὐκία occurs in P. Mich. XV 732 v, a fifth-century account written in a Heracleopolite hand. Villages that fall under a μεγάλη and a μικρᾶ οὐκία are mentioned in the Arsinoite SPP X 149 (v1).

4-5 Cτρατηγίου τοῦ πανεπιφ(ήμου) ὑπάτου. See above, introd.

It is interesting to observe how the career of Strategius Pancuphemos parallels that of Apion III. They appear on their own as landowners at about the same time, Apion on 14.xi.592 (5394), and Strategius on 6.iii.591 (LVIII 3935) in Oxyrhynchus, on 27.xi.-26.xii.592 in the Fayum (SB XXVIII 16873). They were both honorary consuls in the 590s (Apion by 24.xi.58; 5386), and became *patricii* in the early years of the reign of Phocas, Apion between 25.xi.602 (PSI III 179) and 27.xii.604-25.i.605 (LVIII 3941), Strategius between June 602-June 603 (CPR XXIV 26) and 29.iii.604 (P. Erl. 73). (Strategius' *patriciate* is first attested in the Fayum on 16.ix.605 (P. Bodl. 53).) They are both last heard of as alive in 619, Apion on 5.vii.619 (P. Land. III 49), Strategius at an unspecified date (P. Vindob. G 50349; information kindly supplied by S. Kovarik); Apion is dead by 12.i.620 (LVIII 3959).

5-7 διὰ Ἀπολλῶ τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμματος διοικητοῦ. Fl. Apollon was known from LVIII 3936, SB XXII 15487 (both of 598), and LXVI 4535 (600).

9-12 An estate overseer was bound by yearly contracts; in the event of his death while in office, apparently his next of kin or heirs would take over his duties, subject to the approval of the estate authorities.

12-14 τὸν ... ἀψών[ων]. τὸν for τὸ may be due to the influence of similar phrases with *μισθόν*.

15 χρεῖαν [τ]οῦ [αὐ]τοῦ σταβλ(ίτου). Cf. SPP III².1 96.3-4 (640/655) τὸν ἐμὸν μισθὸν εἴτου τε καὶ χρεῖαν καὶ ἐνηθησῶν ὑπὲρ ἧε | [παιούμαι τοῦ σταβλ(ίτου) χρεῖαν]. Other references to the χρεῖα τοῦ σταβλ(ίτου) are I 140 = W. Chr. 438.14, 26 (550) and SPP XX 219.16-17 (604). [τ]οῦ [αὐ]τοῦ σταβλ(ίτου) is probably said from the point of view of the intermediary Apollon, although μοι, in 14 refers to Ioannes.

16-19 καὶ (16) implies that what is meant by the phrase τὰ αἰρούντα [α]ὐτῆ (17-18) is different from the customary ἀψών[ων] (14); perhaps these were the ἐνηθησῶν, as in SPP III².1 96.3.

28-30 For the conversion of the date, see *CSBE*² 154, 159.

31-2 Γεωργίου συμβολ(αιογράφου). Not known from elsewhere.

32 ἔγραψα. Oxyrhynchite notarial signatures in documents later than the fifth century do not normally contain a form of γράφειν, but those from Hermopolis and other areas often do. The present example may be a conflation of the *completio*, remarkably given only in Greek, and a subjective statement.

N. GONIS

5399. RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT OF TRAVEL EXPENSES

A 278.1

32.7 × 12.7 cm

28 September - 27 October 612

Plate X

A receipt issued by the well-known banker Macarius (see below, 1 n.) for the payment of half a solidus to a *notarius* who was about to depart for the Fayum. The *notarius* is bringing 'signs', probably documents written in shorthand, for Strategius, πανεῦφημος πατρίκιος, the so-called Strategius Pancuphemos (cf. 5398). This is the first document to attest close links

between the Oxyrhynchite estate of Apion III and Strategius Paneuphemos, who was based in the Fayum.

The text is written across the fibres. The back is blank.

†] εἰ[δός]θ(η) δ(ιά) τοῦ εὐδ[ο]κίμ[ωτάτου] Μακαρίου τραπεζί(ι)του (ιας.)
 Μην[ᾶ] νοτ[α]ρ(ίω) ἀπερχομέ(ν)ω
 ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοίτῃ μ(ε)τ(ὰ) σημίων πρὸς Στρατήγιον τὸν πανεὐφ(ημον) πατρίκ(ιον)
 λόγ(ω) ἀναλώμα(τος)
 ἐπὶ μην(ος) Φαωφί ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) α ἰδιωτικ(ῶ) νομισμα(τίου) ἥμισυ παρὰ
 κεράτι(α) δύο, γί(νεται) ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) νομισμα(τίου) ἅ π(αρά) κερ(άτια) β
 μό(νον).
 (ἔτους) επθ (καὶ) σνη, μην(εὶ) Φαωφ(ί), ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πρώτης. (m.2) + γί(νεται)
 ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) νομισμα(τίου) ἅ π(αρά) κερ(άτια) β μό(νον).

1 $\overline{\alpha}$, τραπεζῆ, νοτ[α]ραπερχομέ^ς 2 $\overline{\mu}$, πανεὐφ πατριμολογαναλωμῆ^ς 3 ἰσημίω^ν 4 $\overline{\eta}$.
 ἰδιωτικνομισμῆ^ς, κερατδύονγιά^ς ἅ π^εκερβ^μ 3, 4 ἐνδ^χ 4 †, 1, $\overline{\mu}$, $\overline{\eta}$, $\overline{\eta}$ ἅ π^εκερβ^μ

'Given through the most respected Macarius, banker, to Menas, *notarius*, who is departing for the Arsinoite (nome) with signs for Strategius, the all-renowned *patricius*, an account of expenditure in the month of Phaophi of indiction 1, one half solidus on the private (standard) minus two carats, total ½ sol. on the private (standard) min. 2 car. only.

'Year 289/258, in the month of Phaophi, indiction first.' (2nd hand) 'Total ½ sol. on the private (standard) min. 2 car. only.'

1 Μακαρίου τραπεζί(ι)του. On this person, see P. Gascou 32 introd., pp. 177-8: five other receipts were issued in Phaophi, indiction 1 (the day is not indicated in any of them). This text is similar to P. Amh. II 157-8 and I 151, all of them receipts for payments of travel expenses.

1-2 ἀπερχομέ(ν)ω ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοίτῃ is the standard construction in all receipts issued by Macarius for people travelling.

2 σημίω^ν. The reference is presumably to letters or other documents in shorthand; see LSJ s.v. *σημίον* II.5, 'pl., shorthand symbols'. The occurrence of a *notarius* in this context is no great surprise (*σημεία* = Lat. *notae*).

3 ἰδιωτικ(ῶ) νομισμα(τίου) ἥμισυ παρὰ κεράτι(α) δύο. This corresponds to 1 solidus minus 4 carats, an amount also found in 151 and XVI 2045 v.; the deduction is min. 4½ car. in P. Amh. 158.

4 γί(νεται) κτλ. The countersignature is in the same hand as in all the other receipts issued by Macarius. It may well be Macarius' own hand.

5400. RECEIPT FOR REPLACEMENT PART(S) OF AN IRRIGATOR

53 :B.26(D)/F(4)a

10.8 x 10.2 cm

16 March 621

The absence of a regnal formula and the reference in the address to the household of the deceased Apion III indicate that the text dates from the time of the Persian occupation; cf. LVIII 3959 (620), 3960 (621), LXVIII 4703 (622).

The writing runs along the fibres.

† ἐν ὀνόματι τ]οῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτήρος
 ἡμῶν. Φαμεν]ωθ ἡ κ̄, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἐνάτης. †
 τῶ] ἐ[ἰνδόξω] οἴκῳ ποτὲ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ
 5 μακαρίτου γενομένου πατρικίου
 τῶ διακειμένῳ καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν
 Ὀξ(υργ)χ(ιτῶν) πόλιν Αὐρήλιος Γεώργιος υἱὸς
 Ἀρεῶτου ἀπὸ ἑποικ(ίου) Ἀσπιδᾶ
 Βορρινῶ τοῦ Ὀξ(υργχιτοῦ) νομοῦ, χαίρειν.
 10 χρεῖας [καὶ] νῦν γ[εν]αμένης
].

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

† χε]ιρ[ο]γγρ(αφία) Γεωργ]ι[ου

3 ἰνδ̄ 7 οβ̄ υἱος 8 εποικ̄ 9 οβ̄ 12 χε]ιρ[ο]γγρ̄

'In the name of the Lord and Master Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour. Phametho 20, indiction ninth.

'To the glorious house once of Apion the blessed, a former *parricius*, situated also at this city of the Oxythyngites, Aurelius Georgius son of Hareotes, from the hamlet of Northern Aspida of the Oxythyngite nome, greeting. Since now too a need has arisen ...'

Back: 'Cheirograph of Georgius ...'

1-3 See 5394 1-2 n.

5 μακαρίτου γενομένου πατρικίου: also in 3959 5; τοῦ ἐν εὐκλειῇ τῇ μνήμῃ 3960 1, 4703 4-5, 6-7 τῶ διακειμένῳ ... πόλιν. Cf. 3960 1-2 and 4703 5-6.

7 The address lacks the Menas formula, also missing from 4703, but present in 3959. See 5392 3 n.

7-9 Aurelius Georgius is not an *adscripticius*; the designation disappears after 619.

8-9 Ἀσπιδᾶ Βορρινῶ. See 5393 9 n.

IV. PAINTING & DRAWINGS

5401. FRAGMENTS OF A PAINTED SHIELD

104/98(a)

A 31.3 × 23.3 cm max.; B 4.7 × 3.4 cm

Fourth century
Plates XXI–XXXI

Two triangular fragments, A and B, from a circular or oval construction of painted animal skin, wood, and gesso:

A: the larger fragment, a triangular piece of painted skin (pl. XXI). Some 233 mm of the original, slightly curving rim is preserved, pierced with stitching-holes 11–12 mm apart; the outer part of a rawhide(?) binding strip, 8.5–9 mm wide, is still in place over the right-hand half of the rim, stopping at the point where a diagonal crease, from which the paint has been lost, begins. The painted surface to the right of this is darker, with a trickle of surface dirt over it, and smudging at the lower end; there are also some holes within it, and a lesser crease 95 mm to the right. It appears that the painted skin has at some point been folded over onto itself along the line of the more pronounced crease. To the left of this, a large patch of greyish deposit overlies the paint.¹ Along the lower right edge of the tapering fragment, a precise line has been cut sharply through the paint, and there are similar, but less clear, traces of cutting on the left side. On the back of the skin is brown staining left by a construction formed of wooden laths of varying width, from 18 to c.40 mm (pl. XXII), indicating that the shield board was formed by the 'plank' method of construction. The painted decoration on the front is described below.

B: a small, triangular fragment of wooden lath from the rim, 3–4 mm thick, tapering to 2 mm at the rim. One face is largely covered with gesso, missing at the right side where this coating has lifted and broken away (pl. XXI); when magnified, a photo of this side shows fibrous shreds of a whitish material underlying the gesso along the right edge. The gesso is indented around the rim with the impression (c.8 mm wide) of the binding strip, and within this indentation is a pair of stitching-holes 12 mm apart; they match those at the upper left corner of the painted skin, where the binding strip has been lost. The other side of the fragment, which was in contact with the back of the skin, is bare wood, bevelled at the rim (pl. XXI). The fragment's original location is confirmed by a spot of red paint on this side, at the upper left edge: this had seeped through a small rent in the skin when the decoration was being applied, after the skin had been stretched over the wooden construction.

As now seen, the outer surface of the skin (A) is painted dark red, with a brighter red showing in places where the surface has been abraded. About 65 mm below the rim is a section of vegetal wreath, a dense band of black paint 30 mm wide, with intermittent flecks of white and jagged brush-strokes on either side to suggest leaves. Running through the band are groups of highlighted, ovoid berries, blue/white alternating with orange-red/white, and at the top, at

¹ The superficial nature of this was ascertained by multispectral imaging.

the centre of the wreath, is an oval, orange-red gem in a white pearl-bordered frame. Below this are four incomplete lines of Latin script, the remains of a stock type of inscription recording an imperial vi- or tricennial anniversary. The first two lines lie beneath the greyish deposit noted above: there is a drip of black paint from the wreath below the second line, and smaller drips elsewhere. Near the narrow lower end of the skin, the final shred of which is folded under, the upper surface of the paint has been lost, leaving incomplete a narrower section of the black wreath on which is set a smaller, circular orange-red gem within a white frame. Above this is an inverted linear triangle in white, plus the corner of something similar just before the broken left edge: these may represent, in rather angular shape, the loops formed by a pair of ribbons tied in a bow to fasten the wreath. The small circular gem is slightly off-centre to the oval one at the top; there may have been further details to the left here, such as the knot or binding formed by the ties, and perhaps another small gem. An approximate outer diameter of 240 mm, and an inner one of 195 mm, for the wreath when complete can be postulated from these upper and lower sections. The rim has a gently curving profile, though not enough remains to indicate for sure whether the original shape of the shield was circular or oval; the inscription would have featured at the top.

The 'plank-shield' type of construction indicated by the staining on the back of the painted skin, with narrow laths of wood glued together, is exemplified by some of the third-century shield boards of 'broad oval' shape found at Dura-Europos, most of them with at least traces of paint.¹ This construction is less strong than the plywood board type, of which two examples have been found in Egypt,² but is more easily formed into a convex shape. Plank construction is also attested by the fragments of painted facings from three wooden shields of unspecified provenance, recorded at Trier University;³ these have been reconstructed as circles, with their likely original diameters ranging from 98 to 108.4 cm. Some of the fragments of painted 'plank-shields' from Dura also show the remains of painted skin, attached to the surface of the wood with a fibrous glue (James, *op. cit.* 180-1 nos. 621-2, 624, 626), but the best-preserved of the elaborately decorated Dura shields had been coated on both surfaces with gesso, then painted on one or both sides (James, *op. cit.* 176-9 nos. 616-18, pls. 6-9). The Oxyrhynchus fragments

¹ S. James, *Excavations at Dura-Europos 1928-1937. Final Report VII. The Arms and Armour and other Military Equipment* (2004) 159-70, esp. 160-62 with fig. 92; average dimensions 105 × 90 cm. Cf. the later documentary evidence for the *cavidae* (planks) required for the manufacture or repair of shields: T. G. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur lateinischen Eroberung* (1988) 92.

² James, *op. cit.* 166-7; see also A. Nabbefeld, *Römische Schilde. Studien zu Funden und bildlichen Überlieferungen vom Ende der Republik bis in die späte Kaiserzeit* (2008) 131-2, pl. 1.

³ K.-P. Goethert, 'Neue römische Prunkschilde', in M. Junkelmann, *Reiser wie Statuen aus Erz* (1996) 115-26; for the traces of wooden laths on the back of one of the fragments, and the likely use of animal glue as an adhesive, see 115-16 with fig. 193. Two of the shields had figural paintings, the third only ornamental decoration: suggested dating, late fourth century to third quarter of the fifth. See also Nabbefeld, *op. cit.* 132-5, pls. 2-4.

suggest a hybrid form with skin on the outer face, and gesso inside;¹ not enough survives to show whether this inner surface was also painted, nor whether the shield had central apertures for the fitting of a metal boss and hand grip, or fixings for a reinforcing bar which could also serve as a grip.² The staining on the reverse of the skin does not show clear signs of an intermediate glue layer between this and the wood (as would be the case for a usable shield constructed in this way, to prevent splitting), and if it is assumed that the upper gem on the wreath marks the central axis of the shield, then the laths are not orientated vertically to the painted design, but lie slightly diagonal to it.

The decoration of the fragment shows part of a *corona laurea triumphalis*, a tied wreath of laurel,³ enhanced with gems. It encloses a stock type of Latin inscription associated with the celebration at ten-yearly intervals of an imperial anniversary at which the public vows (*vota*) undertaken (*suscepta*) at the emperor's accession for the well-being and success of his realm and his person were redeemed (*soluta*) and renewed. Pithily expressed as VOTA [*soluta*] X [*suscepta*] XX or VOTA X MVLTA XX, with variants thereon, the formula seems in the course of the third century to have become combined with the acclamatory *multis annis imperis* in the composite formula VOTIS X MVLTIS XX, familiar on the reverse of coins issued in connection with these imperial anniversaries.⁴ On these the wreathed inscription may occupy the entire field on the reverse, or there may be a more complex design where the inscription is seen on a shield (sometimes in the process of being written thereon) or standard, with a variety of accompanying figures; the legend is usually abbreviated, as either VOT ... MVLT ... or SIC ... SIC ...

The inscription on fragment A is written in capital letters of a majuscule type, executed in thin strokes of the same slightly off-white paint used for details of the wreath.⁵ The undulating sign over the O in the first line (a 'circumflex'), for which there are some epigraphic

¹ For the fibrous content of this, cf. the 'layer of fibre in a glue matrix' observed on the Dura fragments under both gesso coatings and animal hide: James, *op. cit.* 162.

² Two of the plywood oval shields found at Dura-Europos had no bosses but were painted at the centre with a single figure enclosed by a frame: James, *op. cit.* 184-6 nos 633-4.

³ For the typology of the laurel wreath, an imperial attribute from the middle of the first century BC on, see B. Bergmann, *Der Kranz des Kaisers: Genese und Bedeutung einer römischen Insignie* (2010) 53-8, with sculpted representations on altars of Augustan date, showing the ribbons tied in a bow with a reef knot, 160 figs. 66, 68, 70. For its iconic significance, see P. M. Bruun, *The Roman Imperial Coinage VII: Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 313-337* (1966) 36.

⁴ J. P. C. Kent, *The Roman Imperial Coinage VIII: The Family of Constantine I, A.D. 337-364* (1981) 50-54. For a general survey, see H. Mattingly, 'The Imperial "Vota"', *PBA* 36 (1950) 155-95, esp. 155-6 for the formula; 'The Imperial "Vota" (Part II)', *PBA* 37 (1951), 219-68. By the later third century, the 10- and 20-year celebrations (*decennalia* and *vicennalia*) might be doubled up, and a five-yearly anniversary was also celebrated: C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage VI: From Diocletian's Reform (A.D. 294) to the Death of Maximinus (A.D. 313)* (1967) 19-21.

⁵ The following commentary draws extensively on notes provided by Dr Serena Anmirati.

attestations,¹ could be seen as indicating the quantity/quality of the O. Taking into consideration the likely placing of the letters as centred within the wreath, as well as the layout of comparable inscriptions on coins, there are two possible readings:

V̄ÖTIS
 X X
 MV]LTIS
 X]X X

and

V̄ÖTIS
 X]X X
 MV]LTIS
 X]X X[X

The first, denoting a celebration of the vicennial *vota*, would permit a more centrally balanced layout of the four lines within the circle, comparable to that seen on some of the rarer coin examples with an uncontracted legend (see, for instance, Kent, op. cit. 514 no. 36, pl. 26: silver siliqua, mint of Antioch, 'perhaps Constantine II'). This is the more plausible reading, and likely candidates for the anniversary are Diocletian (303/4); Constantine the Great (325/6); Licinius (326/7); Constantine II (335 or 336/7); Constantius II (342/3/4); and Valentinian II (389/90).² The second reading, denoting a tricennial celebration, would give a less balanced layout (cf. the more elegantly spaced inscriptions on silver coins of Constantine II or Theodosius II, mint of Siscia, or Constantius II, mint of Constantinople: Kent, op. cit. 376 no. 360, pl. 17; 456 no. 102, pl. 22), and a smaller range of candidates: Constantine the Great (335); Constantius II (353); and Theodosius II (438/9).

A palaeographic dating in the fourth century is plausible, with fourth to fifth century parallels for the majuscule script. For the form of the 'S' in particular, see P. Ant. 1 fr. 1, a writing exercise (ChLA IV 259); for the form of the 'X', the coin types of which examples are cited above; and in general, the alphabetic capitals of X 1315 (ChLA IV 234).

The appearance of this type of inscription on a decorated shield is so far unique, the only feature that this fragment has in common with some of the other surviving examples being the background colour red.³ Various functions have been suggested for painted shields,

¹ H. Weil, L. Benloew, *Théorie générale de l'accentuation latine* (1855) 298–311, esp. 309–11.

² See the table, 'Imperial *vota*, 314–363', Kent, op. cit. 52. For the difficulties in dating the coin issues related to these anniversaries, see Sutherland, op. cit. 19–21; Bruun, op. cit. 56–61.

³ As seen not only on several of the elaborately decorated shield boards, but also on functional ones, such as the three painted fragments amongst the remains of ten or so military shields found at Masada: G. D. Stiebel, J. Magness, 'The Military Equipment from Masada', in J. Aviram et al. (edd.), *Masada VIII. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports* (2007) 1–94, esp. 16–22.

including active military use, as attested for some. They may also have served for ceremonial or display purposes, held by standard-bearers, for example, or cavalrymen: in his description of the panoply of Roman cavalry in displays where 'speed and elegance' were required, Arrian noted that the riders carried lightweight, decorated shields 'not of the kind used for battle' (*Art tactica* 34.5; A. Hyland, *Training the Roman Cavalry* (1993) 72). They may also have featured in the category of shields displayed for honorific or votive purposes in both domestic and sacred contexts. The evolution of this custom with metal shields (*clipei*) carrying a portrait of the honorand or commemorated person was described by Pliny (*HN* 35.12-13); they could also be merely inscribed, as in the case of the gold shields honouring Tiberius, placed by Pontius Pilate within Herod's palace in the Holy City of Jerusalem, aniconic but still offensive, and removed at the Emperor's insistence to the Temple of Augustus in Caesarea.¹ The specific nature of the inscription on fragment A suggests a purpose for the shield beyond the norm, and a decorative scheme potentially more elaborate than the 'blazons' seen on shields depicted in active military contexts (see James, *op. cit.* 163-6 with fig. 93).

On the Dura shields with elaborate figural decoration and ornamental borders, the surface area around the boss contains spaced groups:² extended narrative ones on the 'Homeric' shield (*Report* VII-VIII, 331-49, pls. XLI-XLII; James no. 616, pl. 6), scattered combatants on the 'Amazon' shield (*Report* VII-VIII, 349-63, pls. XLIV-XLV; James no. 617, pl. 7). The remaining details on the Trier fragments have suggested more balanced compositions: the 'Kampfschild' (no. 3) has the dominant figure of an official top centre flanked by fluttering Victories, paired combatants left and right of the boss and a trio below, plus an ornamental border around the circumference (Goethert, *op. cit.*, 118 fig. 198, 120 fig. 203). The survival of one and a half rectilinear framed images on the red-ground 'Jagdschild' (no. 2) suggests a symmetrical composition of four, with complementary details scattered in between and extending up to the plain rim (Goethert, *op. cit.*, 116 fig. 195, 121 fig. 206). The almost complete framed image of a standing, cloaked figure with spear and shield at the bottom measures 37 × 32 cm, roughly 50% more than the putative exterior diameter of the Oxyrhynchus wreath.

When complete the Oxyrhynchus shield, with a likely diameter or breadth of c.1.00 m, would thus offer a large space in which to accommodate further decoration, surmounted by the wreathed inscription. This could have included additional figures from the repertoire seen not only on the coin types (J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (Numismatic Studies 5; 1944), 81-3), but also in the sculpted commemorations of imperial anniversaries, such as the

¹ Philo of Alexandria, *Legatio ad Gaium* 299-305; for a discussion of this incident within the wider context of votive shields, see H. K. Bond, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation* (1998) 24-48. For the more general, and personal, phenomenon of weapons (often in miniature form) as votive offerings, see M. C. Bishop, J. C. N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment: From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome* (2006), 30-31.

² The third well-preserved example, the 'Warrior God' shield, has only the frontal depiction of the eponymous figure spanning the whole surface, and no further decoration: M. I. Rostovtzeff, F. E. Brown, C. B. Welles (edd.), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos ... Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work* (1936) 363-7, pl. XLVI.

mid second-century 'Medici fragments' (P. Veyne, 'Vénus, l'univers et les vœux décennaux sur les reliefs Médicis', *REL* 38 (1960), 306–22, with wider survey): winged Victories, divinities, personifications, and erotes. The fourth-century inscribed silver plates distributed in the *largitiones* associated with occasions such as these anniversaries show an evolving iconography: the wreathed inscription ('SIC X SIC XX') as seen on coins features on the earliest known to date, in the group made at Naissus to mark the *decennalia* of Licinius (317: D. Srejšović (ed.), *Roman Imperial Towns and Palaces in Serbia* (1993) 75–6, 307 cat. no. 107), while the most celebrated example, the plate of Theodosius, full of imperial pomp plus the personification of Tellus, the fruitful earth, marks an iconographic turning-point between late antique and Byzantine art.¹

The Oxyrhynchus fragments share a box and inventory number with an unrelated fragment of a small wooden writing tablet;² the number is of the simpler Oxyrhynchus format (for the system, see XLIII, xiv), and does not include an indication of the season date but gives the current box number followed by a reference to the original packing details (tin case/layer). This suggests that the three items were retrieved from a dump (rather than acquired by the excavators on site), not necessarily together, but subsequently packed together because of their different media. The clean appearance of the cutting on either side of the lower part of fragment A suggests post-retrieval tidying or removal of ragged edges. Although piecemeal construction cannot be ruled out, to cover a shield in one piece, a complete calfskin (or goat-skin) would be the minimal requirement. This is a meagre survivor of something that might conceivably have been made in Oxyrhynchus, if not in a *fabrica* of shields and armour such as those listed for Asia Minor in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or. XI 32–3).³ As noted above, the shape of the shield when complete cannot be ascertained for sure. The 'broad oval' shield board that had supplanted the earlier rectangular form was in general use through the fourth century and beyond, although circular shields were a possible introduction via German imports, though not necessarily exclusive to cavalry, as sometimes asserted;⁴ they were, however, the dominant iconographic type until the eleventh century, as observed by Kolias (op. cit. 109).

What purpose might a decorated shield connected with an imperial anniversary have served at Oxyrhynchus? The anniversary and renewal of the vows was an occasion for celebration throughout the provinces by both community and army, entailing ritual performance but

¹ Generally attributed to the *decennalia* of Theodosius I, 388: D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (1966) 199–201, pl. 64; M. Almagro-Gorbea et al. (edd.), *El Disco de Teodosio* (2000) includes some divergent opinions, and copious illustrations.

² 3.9 × 15 cm, with four pairs of lace holes along the edge, and 13 line ends of Greek.

³ See further, S. James, 'The *fabricae*: State Arms Factories of the Later Roman Empire', in J. C. N. Coulston (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourth Roman Military Equipment Conference* (1988), 257–331, esp. 262–9; Bishop and Coulston, op. cit. 238–40. None are listed for Egypt.

⁴ See the chronological résumés of shield types by Bishop and Coulston, op. cit. 179–82, 216–18; J. C. N. Coulston, 'Late Roman Military Equipment Culture', in A. Sarantis and N. Christie (edd.), *War and Warfare in Late Antiquity* (2013) 463–92, esp. 475–7. The 'broad oval' type is that held by the guards depicted on Theodosius' plate: Almagro-Gorbea et al., op. cit., frontispiece, 187 pl. 1, and 190 pl. IV.2–3.

also popular entertainment and perhaps some direct benefits.¹ In XVIII 2187, dated 304, one Septimius Arision resumes the business of a petition which had stalled while he was under arrest for another matter—but he is now at liberty to pursue it, having 'shared in the good fortune of the *vicennalia* of our masters the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian'. There may have been some public acclamatory event for an anniversary at Oxyrhynchus with a military presence of the kind attested in XLI 2950, the fragmentary text in rustic capitals of a dedication to Diocletian and Maximian by one or more army units possibly present in the metropolis in January 295.² Such an event could have included the dedication in a public or sacred place of a shield honouring the emperor(s); the shield in itself could have featured in a related military display. It may equally have had a connection unrelated to a specific local occasion or official rite, as a personal deposition, perhaps, or even a damaged reject. In the absence of further decoration that might provide stylistic criteria or more inscriptions, the dating of these fragments to a more precise part of the fourth century remains problematic, so too the attribution to a specific name in the lists of celebrants of *vicennalia* (or the less likely *tricennalia*) during that period. Given the greater amount of testimony to his actions, interest, and occasional presence in Egypt, Diocletian is an enticing candidate, but the others remain in contention until some further documentation may emerge to place this anniversary relic in a more specific context.³

5402. A RAMPANT GOAT

82/28(a)

10.8 × 9.9 cm

Second century?

Plate XVIII

On this almost square piece of papyrus, a bearded male caprid is shown in profile, leaping to the right. The drawing is executed in pen and black ink along the fibres of the papyrus; there is a vertical sheet join 8–10 mm from the right, and the back is blank. The draughtsman has used varying thicknesses of line to create a lively representation of the animal: thinner for some of the outline and also the hatching which models the body and shades the inner view of the offside limbs, broader for the outline of the shoulder joint, the profile of neck and chest, the eye (partly missing), and the curvature of the upper part of the jaw. Only part of the outline

¹ M. Beard, J. North, S. R. F. Price, *Religions of Rome* (1998) i.320, 325; Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 10.35 and 100–101) described his performance of the rites as a provincial governor in Bithynia.

² For such public meetings 'still taking place in Oxyrhynchus around the turn of the third and fourth centuries', see A. K. Bowman, 'Roman Oxyrhynchus: City and People', in A. K. Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (2007) 171–81 at 173; id., 'Papyri and Roman Imperial History, 1960–75', *JRS* 66 (1976) 153–73 at 160, notes the possibility of a second visit to Egypt by Diocletian in 302.

³ Thanks are due to the colleagues who have assisted in the preparation of this commentary: James Brusuelas undertook the multispectral imaging in the Papyrology Room, and the photographs were made by Ian Cartwright at the Institute of Archaeology (Oxford); Serena Ammirati advised on the palaeography, Katherine Dunbabin and Marko Jelusić provided bibliographical assistance, and Alan Bowman, Jonathan Coulton, and Simon James proffered helpful comments on various versions of the text, the imperfections of which remain the author's own.

of the elongated head is preserved; the muzzle appears on the further side of the sheet join, to the left of which some of the surface has been lost.

Ink is missing in places from the rather coarse surface of the papyrus, and some peripheral details of the animal have been lost in breakages at the edges of the sheet: the upper part of its left horn and the hoof of the left foreleg are missing, and a hole in the papyrus has removed the knee-joint of that leg. The tip of its right horn is seen high above the shoulder, but the outline to the right is uncertain, while the lower part is covered in ink, under which can be seen diagonal lines like those more clearly visible on the left horn, and probably intended to indicate the surface texture. The left horn appears more slender, but has lost some of its outline. There are curls of hair below the horns, and they are flanked by a pair of upstanding ears. The tail is of middling length, with a scalloped profile on the underside. The emphatic outlines of the shoulder, neck and chest, and the substantial, curving horns suggest that the animal represented is a wild goat, possibly one of the ibex-like group *Capra aegagrus*, that have darker markings on the shoulder and chest, a spinal crest, and a tufted tail.¹

The drawing is an accomplished piece of work, not a rough sketch towards some further design; if it were, we might expect other sketches on the back, but the absence of both drawings and writing on the verso suggests that this papyrus has more likely come from a workshop or studio context, and is conceivably the work of a capable student in training, or part of a collection for consultation or copying. Virtually the whole drawing is contained within the margins of the sheet, of which only the upper edge is noticeably fragmentary, creating the spurious impression of a finished small drawing in its own right. It is more likely, however, that it formed part of a larger sheet with further images on it, from which it may have been deliberately cut. The ink on the lower part of the right horn might be the result of a blot, or deliberate erasure, either of which might have resulted in the drawing's being discarded.

The extensive use of hatching is unusual amongst the other Oxyrhynchus drawings, where pen-and-wash is the more common medium for drawings that go beyond the mere linear outlines and give body and spatial context to the figures shown. Dilute wash is also used for draughting, but there is none visible on this drawing, only instances where the draughtsman has adjusted the outline as he went along, resulting in doubled or overlapping lines, as seen across the animal's back, or just behind the top of the right foreleg (the mark below is smudged ink). Hatching is, however, seen in more sparing use on the well-known Cupid and Psyche drawing from Oxyrhynchus (PSI VIII 919), the back of which is also blank. Setting aside the earlier theory that this fine drawing was derived from an illustrated book-roll, more recent suggestions are that it may be preparatory to or copied from a painting, and possibly one of a cycle of illustrations relating different episodes in the myth.² The dating of that papyrus

¹ See D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt* (1998) 185–6; and cf. the *aegagrus* shown in combat with a lynx amongst the animals on the verso of the Artemidorus Papyrus: *P. Artemidorus* 447–50, V38; and for a discussion of its context, G. Adornato, 'Didascalie, disegni e zoologia sul Papiro di Artemidorus', *APF* 54 (2008) 224–45, esp. 241.

² E. Bassi, 'Amore e Psiche', *PSI Congr. XX 20 (Dai papiri della Società Italiana: Omaggio al XX Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia)* (1992) 93–6, pl. XII; A. Soldati, in C. Gallazzi, S. Settis (edd.), *Le*

to the second century could serve for this one, too, in the absence of any other evidence.

The animal's lively pose would be appropriate to a hunting scene or the depiction of a game park or *paradeisos*, familiar subjects in painting and mosaics in the Roman world, where live ibexes and wild goats were imported for display and the arena.¹ This would not have been a likely connection at Oxyrhynchus, but the drawing could have been equally at home in a reference series of zoological illustrations.²

5403. BIRDS, BEASTS, AND A UNICORN

25 3B.58/1(a) [ii]

15.9 × 7.5 cm

c.450–550

Plate XIX

A total of seven sketches executed in dark-brown ink are distributed over both sides of this papyrus, which is formed of three joining fragments. There are some holes and gaps in the brownish papyrus, areas of lost fibres, and small accretions of surface dirt. There is no relative scale to the drawings.

Side A, drawn along the fibres, from left to right: a long-tailed bird with a plump body, two bars across its wing and short strokes suggestive of feathers around its neck; its eye is formed like an epsilon, as though it were asleep. Only one leg, extending back as though the bird were moving forward, is fully preserved; the top of the other is seen to the right. Facing it, seemingly in an antagonistic way, is a heavy-bodied bird depicted in a mass of brown ink applied within a firm outline; it stands on widely-spaced legs, the thigh joint of that at the right clearly delineated, with the remaining curve of a foot below. Halfway down its back is a wing-like projection (the tip missing at the upper edge) that might suggest a bird with wings outspread, but there is no clear indication of a further wing, and the outline of its head closely resembles that of the cockerel drawn on the other side of the papyrus (see below); the darker features above and below would represent the comb and wattle. The 'wing' in that case may be seen as a rather exaggerated depiction of the tail feathers. A suggestion of feathers over the body, and an eye on the head may be fortuitous, the result of ink loss from the surface. The overall dark colouring, apparently a significant feature, is not obviously explicable.

At the right, and facing left, is a unicorn, slightly turned towards the viewer, rear legs a little articulated as though in movement. Its overall physiognomy resembles that of an oryx,

tre vite del Papiro di Artemidoro (2006) 288–9 cat. no. 119. For the use of hatching in ancient drawings, see the technical discussion of the drawings on the Artemidorus Papyrus, where both wash and a variety of linear shadings have been employed (*P. Artemidoro* 473–82, 606–7).

¹ G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (1937) 42, 131; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (1973) 147.

² For further discussion of this drawing and the problem of defining the purposes for which ancient drawings were made, see H. Whitehouse, 'Birds, Beasts, and a Unicorn at Oxyrhynchus', in G. Adornato (ed.), *Intorno al Papiro di Artemidoro III. I Disegni*. Atti del Convegno internazionale del 4 febbraio 2011 presso il Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Firenze (2016) 105–27.

with a pronounced dip in the profile of its back, though its neck is more sinuous than that of an oryx, and it lacks the typical tufted tail.¹ Two short pen strokes halfway down the rump might indicate a minimal tail. The outline of its belly has been partly lost with the break in the papyrus, together with the top of its legs. Its long horn, straight and slender, and marked with diagonal hatching, is angled back from a domed forehead and flanked by upright ears. Around its neck is a collar from which hangs a bell, and its left (nearside) eye is lightly indicated in fine strokes.

Side B, drawn across the fibres in fainter brown ink: from the left, a cockerel in profile view, facing left, its tail feathers shown in a wing-like mass extending from its back. Below the detailed depiction of its head and hackle feathers, the body diminishes in size; one leg, its right, is shown below the curve of the body, but only the thigh joint of the other has been sketched, at the far right of the body. Directly below is an unfinished sketch showing the head and upper body of a wild boar facing left, its bristles indicated in short lines across the back. At the centre of the papyrus is a seated bovid facing left; it has emphatic, dark eyes, a long, slim neck, and between upright ears, a pair of very slender horns, lightly curved and almost meeting at the tips. Although their shape is reminiscent of the horns of the scimitar oryx, their size, the outline of the neck and back, and the little curving line suggesting a short tail halfway down the rump, would be more typical of a type of gazelle with curving or lyriiform horns.² Its folded legs are only summarily sketched. Finally, at the right, the largest drawing on this side: a peacock facing left, its crested head rather large in proportion to its slender, curving neck and small body, a scatter of crosses above a line over its back. The end of its long tail, which is marked intermittently with oval 'eyes', has been lost at the broken right edge; both its legs are shown.

On both sides, the drawings have been executed with a pen that permitted a variable thick/thin line, best seen on the more carefully executed of them, the long-tailed bird and the unicorn, where the outline is mostly quite emphatic, but there are light pen strokes across the body. The treatment of the dark bird is markedly different, and presumably had some significance, apart from its being a better drawing of a cockerel than the purely linear one on the other side. The draughtsmanship is at times sketchy (see the folded legs of the seated gazelle, for instance, or the peacock's tail), adding to the impression that these drawings could be the work of a student, or a more proficient hand rapidly jotting down possible subjects. They are a heterogeneous assemblage, a mixture of the domestic and the wild, creatures from the hunt, the garden, the game park, or excerpted from groups of popular motifs, such as assorted kinds of birds, as seen in some Alexandrian mosaics.³

¹ Cf. *Oryx beisa* and *Oryx leucorox*, both with slender, straight horns, and *Oryx dammah*, the scimitar oryx: D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt* (1998) 161–8; the cloven-hoofed oryx is one of the two single-horned creatures denominated by Aristotle (*HA* 2.1, 499b19–20; *PA* 3.2, 663a22–3).

² Osborn and Osbornová, *op. cit.* 175–80.

³ See W. A. Daszewski, 'Egypt, Birds and Mosaics', in H. Morliet (ed.), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine IX* (2003) 1143–52, noting a potential connection with a tradition of illustrated ornithological studies that would be typical of the scientific milieu of Alexandria.

The mixture here might indeed suggest a wide-ranging selection of motifs made from a pattern book. Amongst them, the unicorn is not only the most unusual subject, but also the one that provides a closer focus on the likely date and context of these drawings. The collar and bell place it in the category of other 'captive' animals (typically oryxes, gazelles, or antelopes) seen in paintings or mosaics in Christian contexts, where its significance is linked with the Septuagint's adoption of the word *μονόκερως* for the Hebrew *re'em* in various passages of the Hebrew Bible.¹ Painted examples survive in Egypt, in chapel 17 of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit,² and at the White Monastery near Sohag, in the tomb-chamber attributed to the founder, Apa Shenoute.³ These are less elegant than the creature sketched on the papyrus but share the distinction of a single horn, and they fall within the period from the end of the fourth century to the third quarter of the fifth. Three collared animals are shown in the borders of a mosaic pavement of the sixth-century church at Qasr el-Lebia in Libya, which frames a Nilotic scene and also includes a rather bizarre version of the unicorn (not collared) and a pair of peacocks.⁴ Free-range unicorns with the attributes of antelopes, horses, ibexes, or goats also appear in the rich selection of animals featured in the mosaic pavements of some Syrian churches: two in the region of Apamea, and another at Hawat, with a date-range spanning the end of the fourth century to 568; another is shown on an unprovenanced, possibly Libyan, fragment.⁵

The range of creatures on the papyrus, much greater than that required for the kind of paintings cited above, could have been compiled for a composition with something like the richness of motifs seen in the mosaics, but—assuming that they were not simply exercises in drawing—the end for which they might have been destined in Oxyrhynchus is not obvious. The fact that the draughtsman has simply flipped the papyrus over, not turning it so as to draw along the fibres again, as would be more usual, emphasizes the seemingly casual nature of the sketches, and the appearance of those on the 'flip side' demonstrates why drawing across the fibres is not so satisfactory. Although this alignment might also be the case if the fragment had been detached from a page of reference drawings, their quality (and the fact that one is unfinished) suggest that they had no permanent function.⁶

H. WHITEHOUSE

¹ Listed by J. W. Einhorn, *Spiritualis unicornis: Das Einhorn als Bedeutungsträger in Literatur und Kunst des Mittelalters* (1998) 53–5.

² J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit* (1904), 79, pls. Ll.1, Ll; identified as a unicorn by later writers, including P. du Bourguet, 'Bawit. Paintings', in A. S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia* ii (1991) 367–72 at 371.

³ E. S. Bolman, 'Monastic Wall Paintings', in C. Fluck, G. Helmecke, E. R. O'Connell (edd.), *Egypt: Faith after the Pharaohs* (2015) 122–7 at 122, 124, fig. 138. Shenoute died in 465.

⁴ E. Alfoldi-Rosenbaum, J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Justinianic Mosaic Pavements in Cypriot Churches* (1980) 55–6, 136, pls. 56, 59.1.

⁵ P. and M. T. Canivet, *Huarte: Sanctuaire chrétien d'Apamène (IV^e–VI^e s.)* (1987) 232–7, 251–60, 305–12, pls. CXXXVIII.1, CXL.2, CLIV.

⁶ For a more extended discussion of the unicorn and the contexts in which it is cited and illustrated, see Whitehouse, op. cit. (204 n. 2).

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 γίγνεσθαι 5354 i 6
 γιγνώσκειν 5356 17
 γραεὶ 5354 i 19 (?)
 γυνή [5355¹ iii 18-19]

δακρύειν [5354 i 11 (?)]
 δεῖ 5354 i 2, 5, 5 (?), 6, 9, [42 (?)], ii
 18 (?) 5355¹ ii 5, [12], 18, iii 18, 19,
 22, 2 5 5356 3 (?), [6]
 δεῖ 5354 i 18
 δῆμος [5355² 4]
 Δημηχοῦρης [5354 i 28-9 (?)]
 διὰ 5356 13

διαγιγνώσκειν 5354 i 2
 διακρίνειν 5355¹ iii 28-9
 διαλέγεσθαι 5356 2
 διαλείπειν [5354 i 2-3]
 διαισιόεσθαι [5354 i 6]
 διάστημα 5354 i 9
 διατιθέναι [5356 11 (?)]
 διαυγῆ 5356 3
 διαφανός [5354 i 47 (?)]
 διδάσκειν [5355¹ iii 31]
 διδοῖναι 5355¹ ii 1
 δοκεῖν [5354 i 11 (?)]
 δύνασθαι 5354 i 20
 δύο 5354 i 21 5356 4
 δωματίον [5354 i 10]

εἶν 5356 2
 εἰσαυτῶν 5354 i 40 (?)
 ἐγχειρῆσαι [5354 i 24-5 (?)]
 ἐγὼ 5354 i 12
 εἰ 5354 i [13 (?)], 20
 εἴκος 5356 6
 εἶναι 5355¹ ii [11 (?)], 17, [21], 23 (?)
 εἰς 5354 i [10], 46 (?) 5355¹ ii 7
 εἰσπράττειν 5354 i 10, [ii 7]
 εἰσφέρειν [5354 i 38-9 (?)]
 εἰσθῆναι 5354 i 8
 ἐκ 5356 7
 ἐκδύχεσθαι [5356 8 (?)]

ἐκεῖ 5354 i 19 (?)
 ἐκεῖνος 5355¹ iii 18
 ἐκτός [5355¹ ii i (?)]
 ἐμαντοῦ 5354 i 14
 ἐμός 5355² 7
 ἐμπλήω 5355¹ ii 15
 ἐν 5354 i 9 5355² 5
 ἐνθον 5354 i i (?), 6
 ἐνθα 5356 3 (?)
 ἐνθάδε 5356 3 (?)
 ἐνταῦθα 5354 i 49
 ἐξαντάναι 5356 i
 ἐξέναι 5356 3
 ἐπάγειν [5354 i 20-21]
 ἐπειδή 5354 i 17
 ἐπί [5354 ii 28-9 (?)] [5355² 3]
 5356 3
 ἐπιβουλή [5356 8]
 ἐπιθεῖσθαι 5356 4
 ἐπιτηρέειν [5356 7 (?)]
 ἐπιτηρέειν [5355¹ ii 13]
 ἔργον 5355¹ ii 4
 ἔρωα [5355¹ iii 19-20 (?)]
 ἐσθής [5354 i 42 (?)]
 ἔστε 5354 i 4
 ἑταῖρος 5354 i 21 (?)
 ἔτερος [5355¹ ii 5 (?)]
 Εὐβίαντος [5355² 6-7]
 εὐδός 5354 i 12 [5355¹ ii 18 (?)]
 Εὐκνήμη 5356 2, 7
 ἐφικτάναι 5355¹ iii 30

 ἦ 5355¹ ii 2 (?), [3 (?)]
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 ἦκειν [5354 i 46 (?)] 5356 3
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 ii 19
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 Θεμιστώ 5355¹ ii 17
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 θύρα 5354 i 44

 ἰέναι 5354 i 2
 ἰέρεια 5354 i 23 (?)

ἱερεῖον 5354 i 23 (?)
 ἴνα 5355¹ ii 1
 ἰετόναι 5354 i 47 5356 4

 καί 5354 i 3, 8, 12, 15 (?), 16 (?), 17
 (?), 18 (?), 18, 19, 22, 25 (?), 43, 44
 5355¹ i i, ii 2, 4, [10], 13, 14, 16,
 20, 23 (?), iii [17 (?)], 18, 22, 23, 24
 (?), 25 (?), 29, 30 5356 i (δύ), 2, 3
 (δύ), 5, [7], 12
 καιρός 5356 7
 Καλλιγόνη 5355¹ ii 6, [19], iii 19
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 Καρμάνης 5354 i 7
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 κατάγειν 5355¹ ii 14
 κατακοιλιζειν 5355¹ ii 8
 καταλαμβάνειν 5354 i 8
 καταληπτός [5355¹ ii 22 (?)]
 καταμένειν 5354 i 40
 κατανηκῶ 5354 i 46
 καταφανῶς [5354 i 47 (?)]
 κατεργεῖν [5356 i]
 κατασκευάζειν [5355² 4]
 κέλευθαι 5354 i 1 (?)
 κλείειν 5354 i 43
 κλείς [5354 i 10-11 (?)]
 κοινωνός [5355¹ ii 3-4, iii 17-18 (?)]
 κρύπτειν 5354 i 41
 κύμα [5355¹ ii 10]

 λοχαγός [5355¹ iii 29-30]
 λόχος 5355¹ iii 29

 Μαιώτης 5355¹ iii 17, 21
 μανθάνειν 5354 i [14 (?)], 16
 μάχεσθαι 5355¹ iii 32
 μάχη 5355¹ iii 32
 μέγιστος 5355¹ ii 20
 μέλλειν 5354 i 15
 μέν 5354 i 7, 18 5356 4, 13 (?)
 μετά 5356 i 5356 4
 μεταμελεῖν [5354 i 12-13 (?)]
 μέχρι [5355² 6]
 μή 5354 i 13 (?), 17 (?)
 Μήνικκος [5354 i 41 (?)]
 Μιλήσιος [5355¹ 4-5]

ναυάγιον [5355¹ ii 12 (?)]
 ναός 5355¹ ii 6, [14]
 ναυικός [5354 i 41 (?)]
 νύξ 5354 i 38 (?)

ξίφος 5354 i 42

οἰκία 5354 i 43
 οἰχεσθαι 5356 i
 ὄμοιος 5354 ii 21 (?)
 ὄνομα 5355¹ ii 17
 ὄπλιεις 5355¹ iii 22 (?), 25-6 (?)
 ὄπικος 5355¹ ii 22
 ὄραν 5355¹ ii 18
 ὄς 5354 i 15 (?), ii 29 (?) 5355¹ ii 2
 (?), iii 31, [2] 4
 ὄσπερ [5355¹ ii 17]
 οὐ 5354 i 2, [12 (?)] 5356 i
 οὐδέεις 5354 i 44
 οὐπω 5354 i 45
 οὐτος 5354 i 5 (?), ii 34 (?) [5355²
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παῖδιον 5355¹ ii 5
 παινηλός [5354 ii 16-17 (?)]
 πᾶν 5356 5
 παρά [5354 i 2]
 παρασκευάζειν [5355¹ ii 2-3]
 παρατηρεῖν [5356 7 (?)]
 πᾶς 5354 i 13 [5356 7]
 πατήρ [5355² 7] 5356 2
 περί 5354 i 3, 13, 16 (?), [17 (?)]
 περιδουρεῖν [5354 i 4 (?)]
 περιμένειν 5354 i 13, 19, ii 2 (?)
 πηγή 5356 3, 4
 πίνειν 5354 i 18 (?)
 ποιεῖν 5355¹ ii 3, iii 29
 πόλις 5355² 2
 πολὺς 5354 i 2, 5355¹ ii 5356 i, [3]
 ποτιν [5355¹ ii 9]
 ποταμός [5355¹ 3]
 πρόσκειναι 5354 i 8
 πρηγής 5354 i 11
 πρός 5354 i 14, [16], 44
 προσ(-) 5354 i 23 5356 8
 προσδέχεσθαι [5356 8 (?)]
 προστρέχειν 5356 5-6
 πρώην 5355² 6

εκεῖος 5355¹ ii 10
 ἐκλήρος 5356 14
 ἐκολή [5355¹ iii 21 (?)]
 εὐνήθημα 5355¹ iii 30–31
 ἐφόδρα [5355¹ i 1–2 (?)]

παράρκεται [5355¹ ii 11 (?)]
 ταχύς 5355¹ ii 11
 τε 5355¹ ii 9, [14], iii 22 5356 14 (?)
 τηρεῖν 5354 i 4 (?) [5356 7 (?)]
 τιθέναι 5355¹ i 4 (?), 6
 τιθητός [5355¹ ii 4–5]
 τις 5354 i 1, [16 (?)] (θύ), 20, ii 35 (?)

[5355¹ 7] 5356 [4], 13
 τοσαύτος [5355¹ ii 11 (?)]
 τραυματίζεω [5354 i 11]
 τρέθειν 5355¹ ii 2
 τριβεῖν [5355¹ ii 11 (?)]
 τρίτος [5355¹ ii 5 (?)]

ὔδωρ 5356 3
 ἡμέτερος 5355² 8
 ὑπαγορεύειν 5354 i 14 (?)
 ὑπεράνθρωπος 5355¹ ii 21
 ὑπά [5354 i 42 (?)] 5355¹ ii 9, iii
 27, 31

ὑφαιρέω 5354 i 1

φαίνεω 5355¹ iii 26–7
 φάιναι 5354 i 14
 φοιτεῖν [5354 i 15 (?)]
 φυλάσσειν [5356 6]

χειροῦν 5355¹ ii 15
 χείρων 5354 i 21
 χρῆναι 5355¹ iii 32 (?)

ὡς 5354 i 6, 9 (?), 17 (?), 43 5355¹
 ii 16 5356 17 (?)

IV. SUBLITERARY TEXTS (5357–9)

ἄγιος [5358 5 (?)]
 ἄγριος [5358 5 (?)]
 ἀλλά 5359 5 (Hom.)
 ἄλλοι [5359 3 (Hom.)]
 ἀνά 5359 9 (Hom.)
 ἀνήρ 5359 3 (Hom.)
 ἀρετή 5358 1

βιολόγος 5357 5

γὰρ 5359 5 (Hom.)

δέ [5359 5 (Hom.)]

διῶτε 5359 15

διετυχεῖν 5357 7–8

Ἐλικιῶν [5359 17 (?)]

ἐπικαλεῖν 5358 3

Εὐθύμας 5357 3

εὐτυχῶς 5357 1–2

εὐφυσχεῖν 5359 back (?)

ἔχειν [5359 5 (Hom.)]

Ζεύς [5359 5 (Hom.)]

ἡμεῖς 5359 15

βιαστής 5357 6–7

θεῶς 5359 3 (Hom.)

Ἰλαρός 5359 16

Ἰππάλκος 5358 3–4

Ἰππακρυκτής 5359 3 (Hom.)

Ἰφικράτης 5359 14 (?)

καί 5357 3, 4, 5 5358 4 5359 3
 (Hom.), 14 (?)

καλῶς 5357 6

Λαοκράτης 5358 2

λοπτός 5357 4

μέν [5359 3 (Hom.)]

μερμηρίζειν 5359 5 (Hom.)

μετά 5359 15

νηδῦμος [5359 5 (Hom.)]

νοῦκος 5359 9 (Hom.)

ὄς 5359 17 (?)

οὐκ [5359 5 (Hom.)]

παννύχιος 5359 5 (Hom.)

παρά 5359 17 (?)

πᾶς 5357 5, 8

περὶ 5357 2 5358 1, [4–5]

ῥῆα 5359 3 (Hom.)

Σαμβάτιον 5357 3–4

Σαραπίων 5359 12

σωτηρία 5359 13 (?)

τε 5359 3 (Hom.)

τελεσφόρος 5359 16

ὑπὲρ 5359 13 (?)

ὕπνος 5359 5 (Hom.)

φίλος [5359 9 (?), 11(?)]

χῆρ 5358 5

φιλῶς [5359 9 (?), 11(?)]

V. RULERS

TIBERIUS

Τιβέριος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός 5360 A3, B21, B24 (year 13)

CARACALLA

(no titulature) 5361 6 (year 22, retrospective reference)

θεός Σευήρος Αντωνίνος 5361 17-18 (year 22, retrospective reference)

THE PHILIPPI

domini nostri Philippi Augusti 5363 14 (no regnal year)

JUSTINIAN

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλάουιος Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀβγαυεὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ 5369 1-2 (year 22) 5371 1 5372 1-2 (year 25) 5373 1-2 (year 26)

IUSTINUS II

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλάουιος Ἰουστῖνος ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀβγαυεὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ 5380 1-2 (year 13)

TIBERIUS II

Φλάουιος Τιβέριος ὁ καὶ Νέος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ εὐτυχέστατος ἡμῶν Καίσαρ 5380 2-3 (no regnal year)

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλάουιος Τιβέριος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀβγαυεὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ 5382 1-2 (year 8)

MAURICIUS

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλάουιος Τιβέριος Μαυρίκιος ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀβγαυεὸς (καὶ) Αὐτοκράτωρ 5383 1-2 (year 2) 5384 1-3 5385 1-3 (year 3) 5387 1-2 (year 5)

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλάουιος Μαυρίκιος Νέος Τιβέριος μέγιστος εὐεργέτης ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀβγαυεὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ 5389 1-3 (year 6)

... Μαυρίκιος Τιβέριος ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀβγαυεὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ 5390 1-2 (year 7)

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλάουιος Μαυρίκιος Νέος Τιβέριος ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀβγαυεὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ 5393 1-2 (year 9) 5394 2-3 (year 11)

VI. CONSULS

526 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Φλοζίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου 5365 1

548 τοὺς τὸ ε' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου 5369 2-3

551 τοὺς τὸ ι' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου 5371 1-2

552 τοὺς τὸ ια' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου 5372 2

τοὺς τὸ ια' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου 5373 2

578 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β' 5380 2

582 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους τετάρτου 5382 2-3

583 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Τιβερίου Κωνσταντῖνου ἔτους ε' 5383 2-3

584 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Τιβερίου Κωνσταντῖνου ἔτους ε' 5384 3-4

584 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους α' 5385 3

586/7 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους δ' 5387 2-3 5388 1 (?)

587/8 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἔτους πέμπτου 5389 3-4

588/9 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους ε' 5390 2-3

590/91 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους η' 5393 3

592/3 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους ι' 5394 4

? ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους κ' 5395 1

VII. INDICTIONS AND ERAS

(a) Indictions

- 1st 5367 8 (537/8?) 5374 4 (552/3)
5399 3, 4 (612/13)
1st or 15th [5382 1] (582/3 or 581/2)
2nd 5383 3, 16 (583/4) 5398 17,
18-9 (598/9)
3rd 5384 5 5385 4, 24-5 (584/5)
4th 5386 2, 4 (585/6)
5th [5365 2, 2 9] (526/7) 5375 1
(556/7) 5387 3 (586/7)
5th (?) 5388 2 (586/7)
6th 5389 4 5391 5, back, (a) 2
(587/8)
7th 5390 3 (588/9)
8th 5364 3, 6 (year not given)
9th 5376 5-6 (560/61) 5391 (a) 1
5393 3, [21-2] (590/91) 5400 3
(620/21)
11th 5369 4 (547/8) 5394 4 (592/3)
12th 5380 [3], 10 (578/9)
14th 5377 4, 8 (565/6 or 580/81)
[5381 6] (580/81) 5396 2 (595/6)
15th 5371 2 5372 2 5373 2 (551/2)

(b) Eras

- 203/172 [5365² 9] (526/7) 260/229 5383 15 (583/4) 275/244 5398 29-30 (598/9)
237/206 5376 5 (560/61) 261/230 5384 5 (584/5) 289/258 5399 4 (612/13)
255/224 5380 10 (578/9) 262/231 5386 4 (585/6)
257/226 [5381 6] (580/81) 264/233 5391 5 (587/8)

VIII. MONTHS

- Θωο [5371 2] 5383 3 5387 3 5398 28
Φαωφ. 5360 B22, (B24) 5364 11
5390 3 5396 2 5399 3, 4
Μθουρ 5380 3 5385 [4], 24 5386 2,
4 [5388 2] 5391 (a) 1, 2 5394 4
Τυβη 5365 2, 2 8 5393 3, [22]
Μεχιρ 5372 2
Φαμενωθ 5389 4 [5400 3]
Παχων 5369 4
Παινι 5360 B9 [5375 1]
επαγόμενοι 5373 2

IX. DATES

- 27 October 26 5360 B21-2, 24
26 May - 24 June 27 5360 B9-10
31 December 26 5365 1-2, 2 8-9
24 December 537 (?) 5367 8
26 April 548 5369 1-4
7 September 551 5371 1-2
27 January 552 5372 1-2
24 August 552 5373 1-2
9 May or 8 June 553 (?) 5374 4
18 June 557 5375 1
5 November 578 5380 1-3
24 September 583 5383 1-3
18 November 584 5385 1-4, [24-5]
24 November 585 5386 2, 4
24 September 586 5387 1-3
6-15 November 586(?) 5388 1-2
29 October - 27 November 587
5391 (a) 2
10 March 588 5389 1-4
21 October 588 5390 1-3
28 October - 26 November 590
5391 (a) 1
9 January 591 5393 1-3, 21-2
14 November 592 5394 2-4
22 October 595 5396 2
1 September 598 5398 27-30
28 September - 27 October 612
5399 3, 4
16 March 621 5400 3
6/7 October (no year) 5364 11

X. PERSONAL NAMES

- Ἀβραάμος 5391 7, 11
Ἀβραάμιος, Aut., s. of Anuthius and
Sophia 5395 10, 21, 25
Ἀβραάμος, s. of Anup 5396 11, 26
Ἠγαθὸς Δαίμων 5361 5
Ἠλιζάνδρος, alias Sarapion 5361
10, [14]
Ἠλιζάνδρος, Aut. [5361 3-4]
Ἠλεού, Aut., s. of Anup 5373 11,
[23]
Ἠλεού, f. of Aut. Pamun, h. of
Helena 5373 6, 20 (gen. Ἠλεού)

- Ἡμέτιος 5381 12
 Ἡμερώνιος, *Aur.*, (former (?)) gym-
 nasiarch, pryтанis 5361 13
 Ἡμερώνιος, s. of Ptolemaeus 5360
 B12
 Ἡμοῦθιος, f. of *Aur. Iustus* 5394 9,
 [12]
 Ἡναετιάσιος, alias *Catus*, s. of *Maura*,
 cook 5397 [3], 18
 Ἡσιανός 5391 17
 Ἡσοῦθιος, *Aur.*, s. of *Pamuthius*, sec-
 retary 5378 [5, 20], 23
 Ἡσοῦθιος, *Aur.*, s. of *Phoibammon*
 and *Maura*, b. of *Aur. Phileas*,
 registered farmer 5375 9, 22,
 (back 2 (?))
 Ἡσοῦθιος, f. of *Aur. Abrahamus*, h. of
Sophia 5395 10, 25
 Ἡσοῦθιος, f. of *Gunthius* 5391 9
 Ἡσοῦθ, *Aur.* 5384 11, [35]
 Ἡσοῦθ, f. of *Abrahamus* 5396 11
 Ἡσοῦθ, f. of *Aur. Aleus* 5373 11
 Ἡσοῦθ, f. of *Aur. Georgius* 5376 8
 Ἡσοῦθ, f. of *Georgius*, former nomi-
 carius 5388 10
 Ἡτανώνιος, see *Index V* s.v. *Caracalla*
 Ἡτανάσιος, f. of *Apollo* 5370 9
 5374 3 5376 10
 Ἡταῦρος 5379 7
 Ἡτταμα, f. of *Papnuthius* 5391 (a) 1
 Ἡπίων, *Fl.* (*Apion* II) [5380 4];
 former *consul ordinarius* 5369 5
 [5371 3] 5372 3 [5373 3] [5375
 2]; former *consul ordinarius* and
patricius [5378 2]; former first
patricius [5382 4] [5383 4]
 [5384 7] 5385 6 5387 4 5390
 4; former *patricius* 5388 4 [5389
 6] 5392 2
 Ἡπίων, *Fl.* (*Apion* III) 5381 1; *consul*
 5386 2 5391 1; child and heir
 of *Apion* (II), *consul* 5392 1; s.
 of *Fl. Præiecta*, *consul* 5393 4;
ex consularibus 5394 5 5395 2; s.
 of *Strategius* and *Fl. Præiecta*,
consul 5396 2; former *patricius*
 5400 4
 Ἡπίων, *Fl.*, *magister militum* (?)
 5375 6
- Ἡποῖ [5381* 2
 Ἡπολλῶν 5381* 2
 Ἡπολλώνιος alias *Ptolemaeus* 5361
 2
 Ἡπολλώνιος, f. of *Pausirion* 5360
 A1-2
 Ἡπολλῶν, *Aur.*, s. of *Calammon*
 5378 8
 Ἡπολλῶν, f. of *Aur. Onnophris*
 5378 8
 Ἡπολλῶν, f. of *Aur. Panteus*
 [5390 8]
 Ἡπολλῶν, f. of *Aur. S.*— 5380 6
 Ἡπολλῶν, f. of *Georgius* 5375 5, 21
 Ἡπολλῶν, presbyter 5391 17
 Ἡπολλῶν, s. of *Apanakios*, notary
 5370 9 5374 3 5376 10, 12, 12
 (*Apollo*)
 Ἡπολλῶν, *tractabilis comes*, adminis-
 trator 5398 5
 Ἡποφῶν, f. of *Phib* 5391 8
 Ἡποφῶν 5366 5
 Ἡποφῶν, f. of *Pambechis* 5391 7
 Ἡποφῶν, headman 5364 [1], 10
 Ἡραυ, f. of *N.N.* 5391 12
 Ἡραῦντης, f. of *Aur. Georgius* 5400
 8
 Ἡρεῶντης, f. of *Aur. Pamun* 5378 9
 Ἡρώσιος see *Ἡρώσιος*
 Ἡρώσιος, f. of *Aur. Pamuthius*
 [5377 10] 5378 4, [18]
 Ἡθουετος see *Index V* s.vv. *The*
Philippi, *Justinian*, *Iustinus* II,
Tiberius II, *Mauricius*
 Ἡρῆλιος 5361 1 [5371 5]; see
also Ἡβραῖμιοι, Ἀλέξανδρος,
 Ἠλεῖος, Ἡμμώνιος, Ἡνοῦθιος,
 Ἡσοῦθ, Ἡπολλῶν, Βίκτωρ,
 Γεώργιος, Διονύσιος, Ἐνώχ,
 Ἐρμῖνος, Υακίνθος, Ἰεάν, Ἰω-
 ἄννης, Ἰωάν, Μηνᾶς, Ὀρνωφρις,
 Πάμβηχης, Παμοῦθιος, Παμοῦθ,
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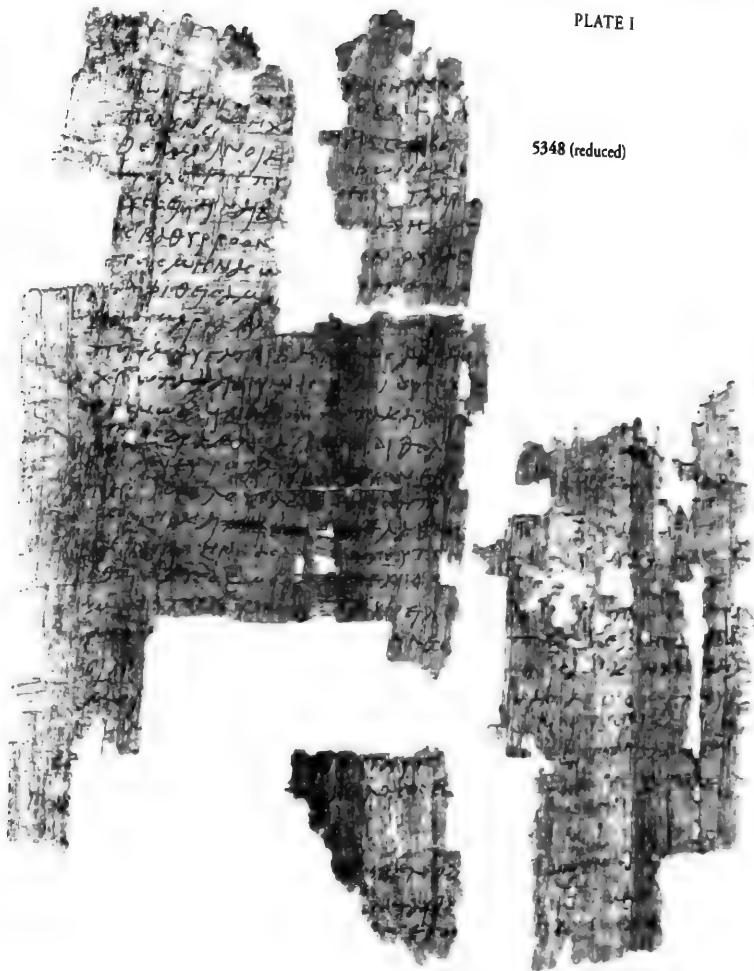
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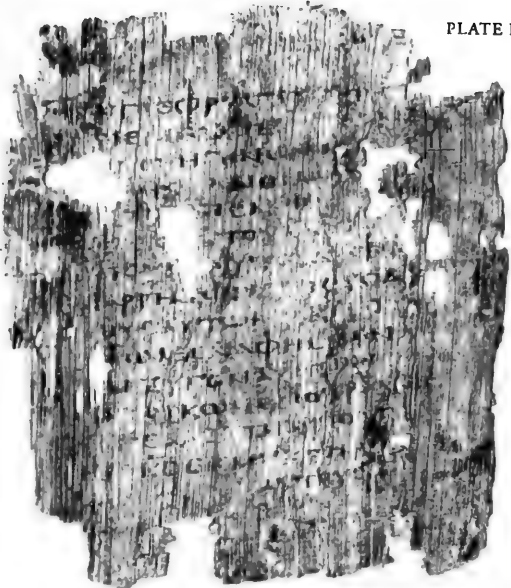
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 343 See below I 144
- P. Erl. 69: date, provenance 5360 introd.
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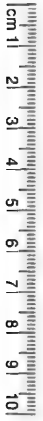
PLATE I

5348 (reduced)

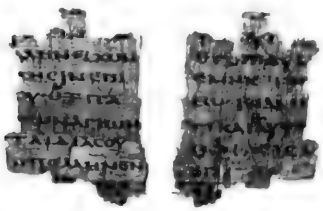




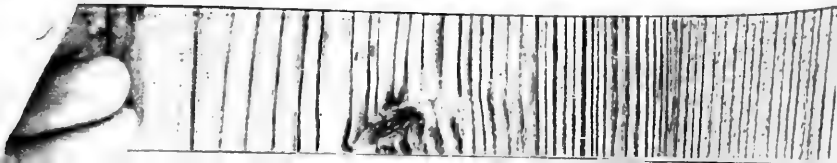
5344 ↓



5345

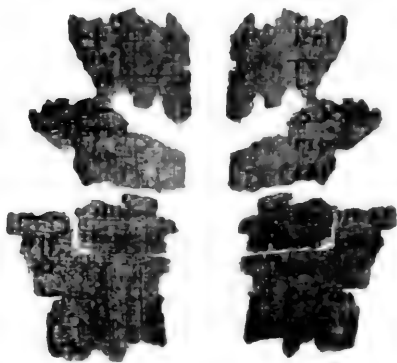


5347





5344 -



5346

11 pmpyXTp d'ctms l'pmpyXTp
 12 Kx Kw d'ctms l'pmpyXTp
 13 Kx Kw d'ctms l'pmpyXTp
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 20 Kx Kw d'ctms l'pmpyXTp



5386 (reduced)

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5354 (reduced)

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 fr. 9
 fr. 10
 fr. 11



5352

PLATE VIII

5355 (reduced)
 cm 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 fr. 2
 fr. 1
 5397 13-16 (reduced)

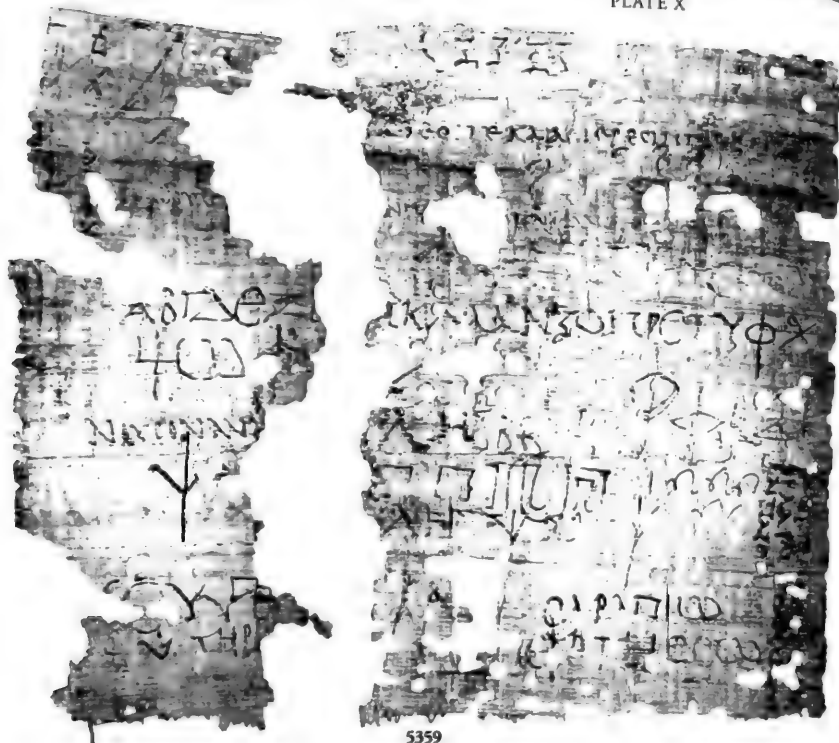
Plate VIII contains several fragments of papyrus with Greek text. Fragment 5355 (reduced) shows a list of items with their prices in drachmas and obols. Fragment 5397 13-16 (reduced) shows a list of items with their prices in drachmas and obols.

PLATE IX

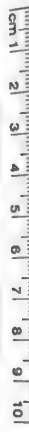
Plate IX contains three fragments of papyrus with Greek text. Fragment 5356 shows a list of items with their prices in drachmas and obols. Fragment 5392 shows a list of items with their prices in drachmas and obols. Fragment 5392 back shows the reverse side of fragment 5392.

5356
 5392
 back

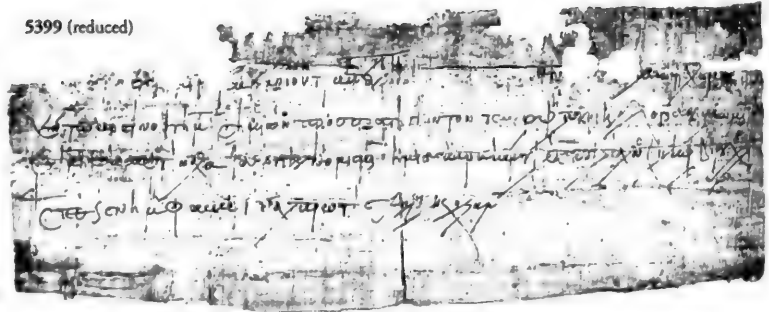
cm 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



5359



5399 (reduced)



fr. 1

Fragmentary Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll, showing several lines of script. The text is heavily obscured by ink bleed-through and physical damage to the fragment.

Fragmentary Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll, showing several lines of script. The text is heavily obscured by ink bleed-through and physical damage to the fragment.

fr. 2

5365



... φωνη... ἰατρικῆ... οὐκ... ἔστι...
 ... τῶν... αἰσθητικῶν... ἡρώδης...
 ... ἀποστολῆς... Ἰωάννης...
 ... ἡμεῖς... ἡμετέρας...
 ... εὐχόμεθα... ἡμῶν...
 ... ἐπιμελούμεθα...
 ... ἀγαπᾶμεν... ἡμῶν...
 ... ἡμεῖς... ἡμετέρας...
 ... ἡμεῖς... ἡμετέρας...
 ... ἡμεῖς... ἡμετέρας...

5362

ΛΙΒΗΝ
 ΔΟΚΡΑΤΗ
 ΕΠΙΛΙΘΕΝ
 ΤΙΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΠΙΝΕΣ

5358



Fragmentary papyrus strip with illegible text.

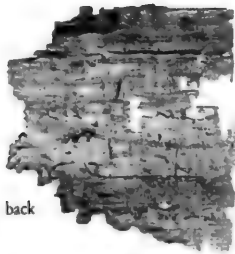
Fragmentary papyrus strip with illegible text.

5364



5374 (reduced)

5376 (reduced)



back

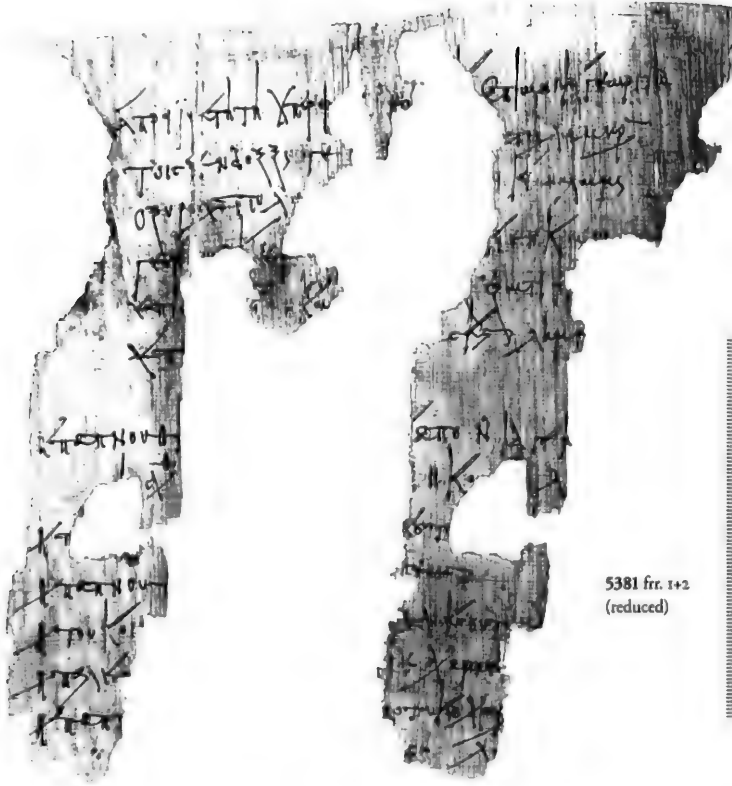
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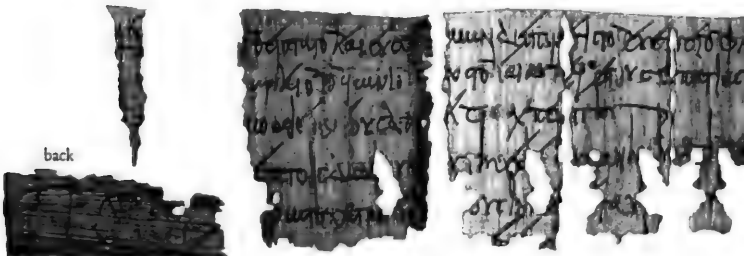


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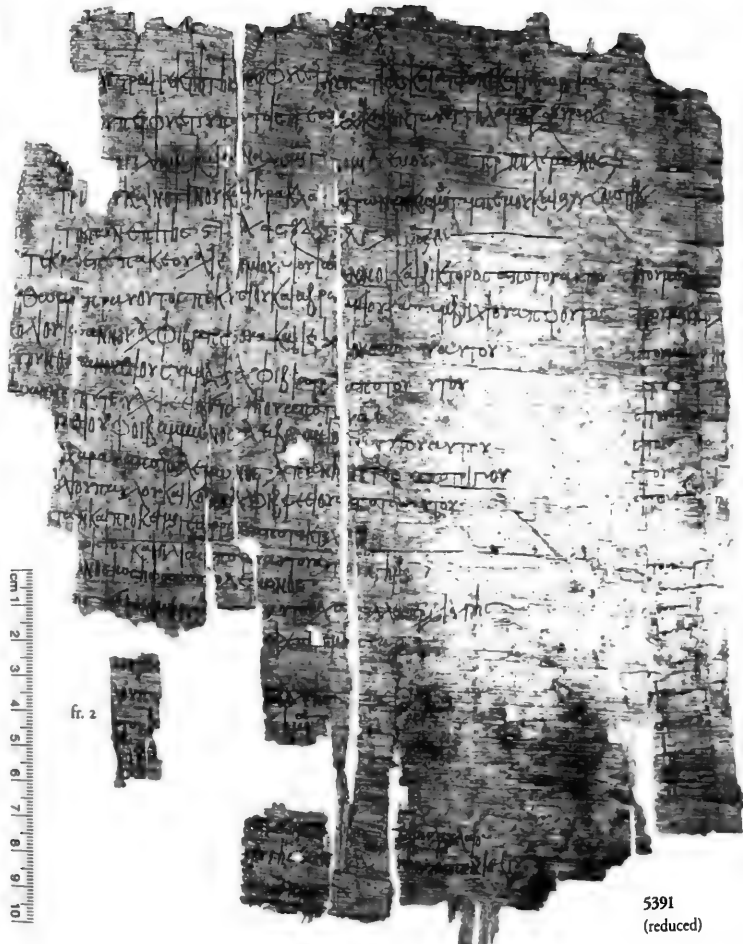
5377 (reduced)



5381 frs. 1+2
(reduced)

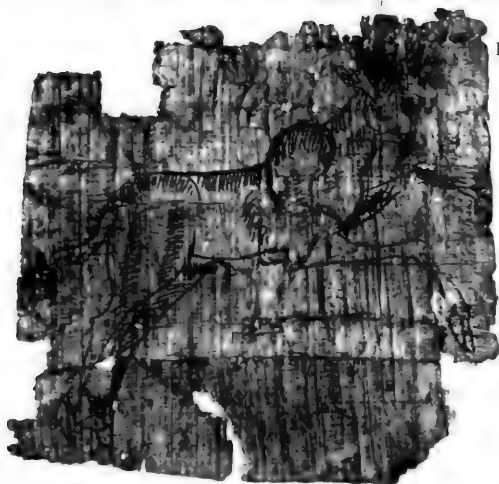


5387 (reduced)

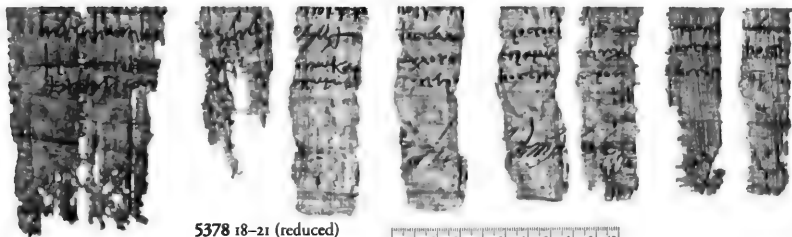


fr. 2

5391
(reduced)



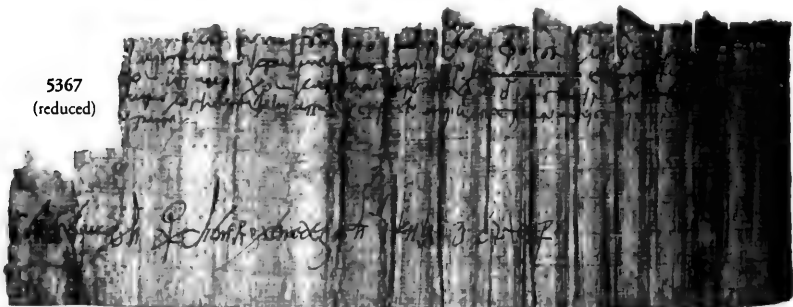
5402

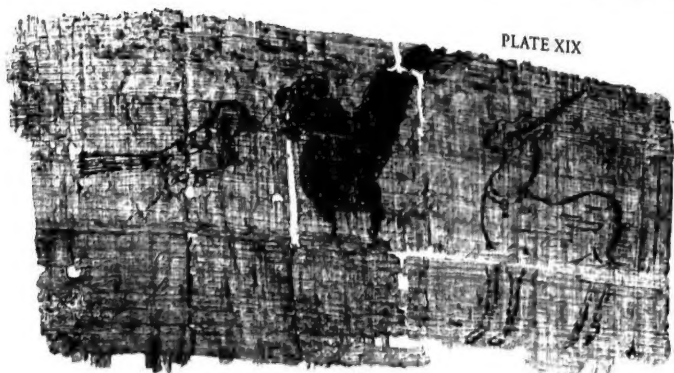


5378 18-21 (reduced)



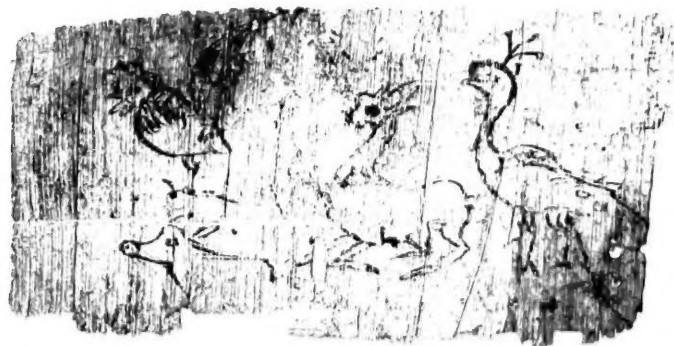
5367
(reduced)





5403

A



B

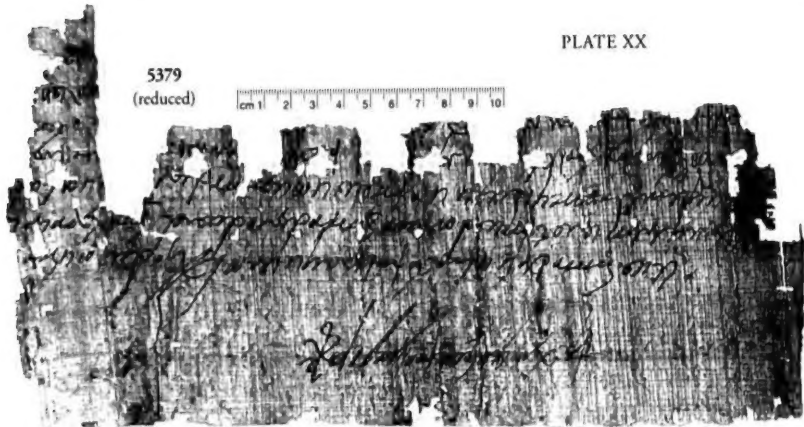


5368 12-13



5379

(reduced)



fr. 4



fr. 3

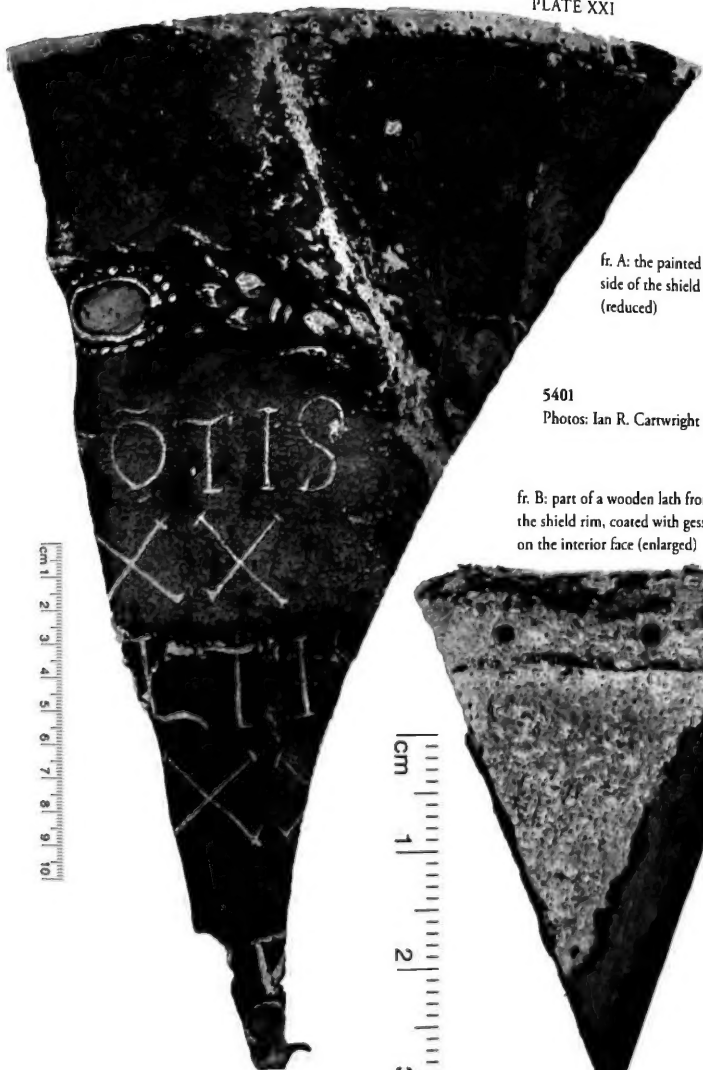


fr. 2

5357

fr. 1



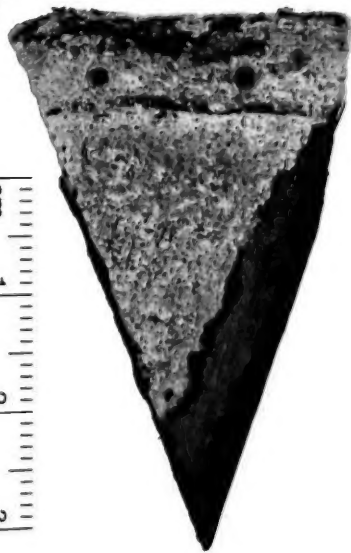


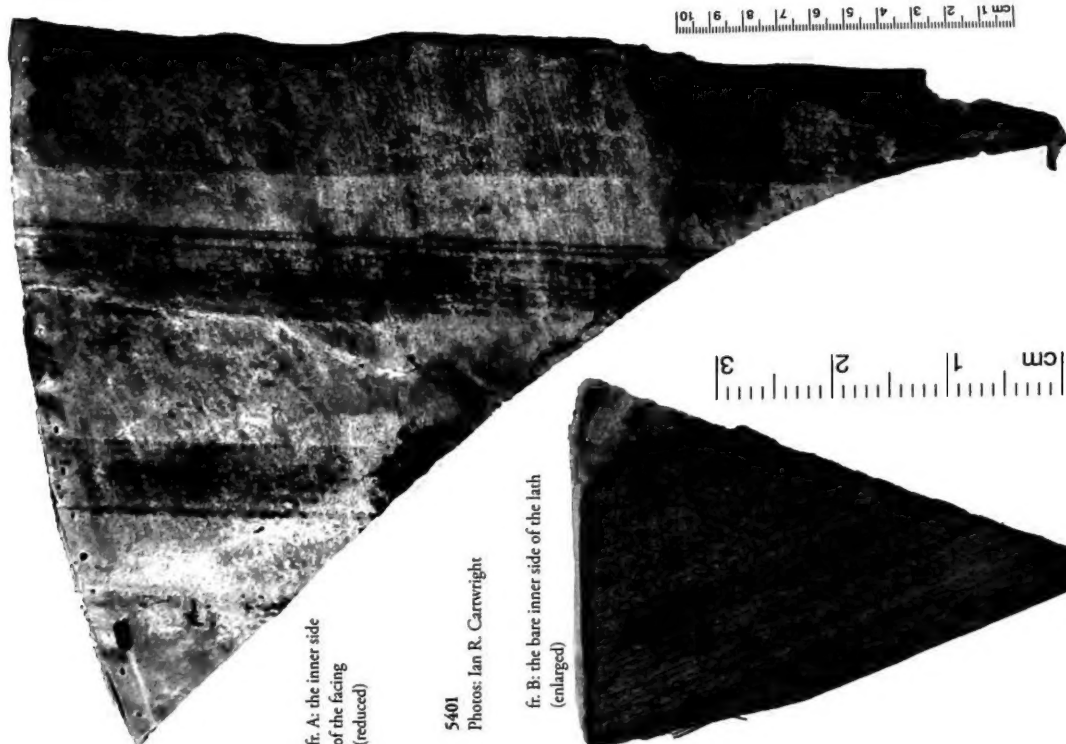
fr. A: the painted outer side of the shield facing (reduced)

5401

Photos: Ian R. Cartwright

fr. B: part of a wooden lath from the shield rim, coated with gesso on the interior face (enlarged)





fr. A: the inner side
of the facing
(reduced)

5401
Photos: Ian R. Carwright

fr. B: the bare inner side of the lath
(enlarged)